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STRUCTURAL-FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS:
SOME PROBLEMS AND MISUNDERSTANDINGS

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As often happens with new developments in the sciences, both natural and social, the recent development in sociology of what has been called "structural-functional analysis" has taken on some of the characteristics of a "school." This is true both for some, though not all, of those who identify their work with structural-functional analysis and for some, though not all, of those who consider themselves outsiders. Members of the school sometimes leave one or more basic assumptions unquestioned, or, at least, do not make these assumptions explicit enough to be effectively criticized. Matters are defended in principle rather than for their demonstrated usefulness in scientific practice. In the outsiders, the occasional lack of understanding which results from this breeds resentment and some ill-founded criticism. On both sides, there is a tendency toward an "all-or-nothing" attitude that prevents the assimilation of useful new ideas, on the one hand, and their necessary refinement, on the other. It is not uncommon in science, as in other fields of intellectual endeavor, for new schools of thought to be somewhat impatient of the past, even indifferent to it. Such sentiments have their usefulnes in the difficult process of creating, and then forging ahead with, new ideas. One tendency in new schools is to pay more attention to the development of ideas than to communicating them as effectively as possible to others. Moreover, such schools may fail to define for others how they are a continuation of older developments. On the other hand, outsiders may find the new ideas strange and difficult, if not, indeed, useless. Lack of personal contact between the members of the new schools and outsiders also increases the difficulty of communication and criticism.[1]

Some misunderstandings between the older and the newer, then, seem to be a frequent occurrence in science. But if such misunderstanding is hard to eliminate, if it is even partly functional for the progress of science at the beginning of a new development, it may soon become obstructive of further progress. The time may now have arrived when we can clarify a few problems in structural-functional analysis that have caused misunderstanding on both sides of the school's boundaries. If so, it will be useful to discuss the following problems in a little detail:

1. The theoretical status of structural-functional analysis. Is s-f analysis a *substantive* body of concepts and theories or does it only define the *nature* of the "causal" relationships between concepts?

2. Abstract and concrete analysis. What are the responsibilities of s-f analysis and of those who criticize it for specifying the degree and level of abstraction of their discussion?

[1] For a more inclusive discussion of the problems of "schools" in intellectual life of all kinds, see F. Znaniecki, *The Social Role of the Man of Knowledge*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1940, Ch. III.

In general, the reader's indulgence is begged for the fact that there are not many more examples on every page of this discussion. Unfortunately, it is only an article where a longish treatise could and should be offered.

3. Structure, process, and change. Is s-f analysis inherently static?

4. Ideological significance. Is s-f analysis inherently "conservative?"

These are, of course, only a few of the problems that arise in connection with structural-functional analysis. But perhaps by clarifying each of these problems we can eliminate some of the common misunderstandings between the s-f school and others.[2] Science advances by the dissolution of old schools as well as by the constant creation of new ones; and new schools soon become old. Although we shall treat each of the four problems separately, they often, perhaps usually, occur together, two or more being present in the same criticism or defense of structural-functional analysis.[3]

THE THEORETICAL STATUS OF
STRUCTURAL-FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS

One source of misunderstanding about structural-functional analysis is confusion about its theoretical status. S-f analysis is in part a body of substantive sociological concepts and theories, in part a method of analyzing the relations among the several structural constituents of a social system. Insofar as it is a method of analyzing the relations among structural parts, s-f analysis assumes that social systems are relatively determinate, boundary-maintaining systems in which the parts are interdependent in certain ways to preserve one another and the character of the system as a whole. Such an assumption can apply to many different substantive systems, that is, to social systems in which the structural constituents are defined in many different ways. For this reason, it is essential that any piece of s-f analysis specify as explicitly as possible the substantive structural concepts it has adopted. It is also desirable that s-f analysis, insofar as it possesses some substantive set of concepts and theories as a comprehensive and systematic whole, make this substantive theory explicit.[4]

When substantive s-f concepts and theories are made explicit, either in part or in whole, they can be compared with existing alternatives. The chief virtue of this procedure is to make clear just how similar or different s-f structural categories are from the alternatives. In some cases, it may be discovered, the s-f categories are only slightly, if at all, different from existing alternatives. This would seem to be true, for example, in the analysis of social stratification. In other areas the categories may be quite different, as in Weber's types of political authority (charismatic, traditional, and rational-legal) when compared with alternative concepts of political structure (e.g., democracy, autocracy, oligarchy, etc.). Given the cumulative character of science, it is very likely that the categories of s-f analysis are similar in considerable measure to pre-existing alternatives. Of course, the measure in which they are different may make all the difference in the world for scientific progress. But progress may be consolidated, and confusion reduced, insofar as s-f analysis explicitly specifies its own structural categories and compares them with alternatives. The comparison of similarities and differences can be helpful on both sides.

It is interesting to note that a similar confusion has occurred in psychology over the theoretical status of Lewinian "field theory."[5] In most of his empirical researches,

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[2] In speaking of a "school," we are, of course, speaking too generally. Some of those commonly assigned to the s-f school do not labor under the misunderstandings to be discussed. So also for many outsiders.

[3] The major discussions of sociological functionalism may be found in Talcott Parsons, *Essays in Sociological Theory*, 2nd. ed., Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1954, Ch. XI; in Parsons, *The Social System*, Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1951, pp. 19–22, 26–36, *et passim;* and in Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1949, Ch. I. For important generalized statements of structural-functional analysis in biology that have great interest for sociology, see W. B. Cannon, *The Wisdom of the Body*, New York: W. W. Norton, 1932; and L. von Bertalanffy, *Problems of Life*, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1952.

[4] For one useful but excessively formalistic attempt to do this, see M. J. Levy, Jr., *The Structure of Society*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952. A criticism of this attempt may be found in Barrington Moore, Jr., "The New Scholasticism and the Study of Politics," *World Politics*, 6 (October, 1953), pp. 122–138.

[5] See the complete list of Lewin's works in Morton Deutsch, "Field Theory in Social Psychology," Ch. 5 of *Handbook of Social Psychology*, Gardner Lindzey, ed., Cambridge: Addison-Wesley, 1954.

Lewin was able to construct various *ad hoc* and useful socio-psychological categories (e.g., "democratic atmosphere") which were not part of any systematic set of substantive concepts and theories. Some members of the Lewinian school inferred from Lewin's success that the application of field theory in the sense of a method of analyzing the relations among psychological categories was sufficient. Lewin himself, however, was aware of the theoretical status of field theory. This theory, he said, is "a method of analyzing causal relations and constructing theories and concepts rather than a 'theory' in the usual sense of the term."[6] When substantive theory is not made explicit, or when it cannot be made explicit because it is being constructed empirically and *ad hoc*, however brilliantly and usefully, as was true of Lewin, the users of such theory are blinded to alternatives and their scientific colleagues may well be confused by what they do not understand.

Of course we need not go so far in recommending explicit substantive theory that we commit what may be called "the theorist's fallacy." This fallacy consists in the assumption that only when theory is made completely explicit and systematic can useful scientific research be carried out. Unfortunately for this assumption, but fortunately for the origins and progress of science, this does not seem to be true. The history of science shows that progress often results despite blurred vision. Ultimately, to be sure, theory must be made explicit. But in the short run, implicit theory (and there is alway some implicit theory in all research) can be quite useful. Science makes progress in a more disorderly fashion than we think. Fact-finding, middle-range theory, and com-

prehensive theory do not always march together in serried rank. Although they all become systematically integrated with one another in the long run, fact-finding, middle-range theory, and comprehensive theory may well proceed somewhat independently of one another in the short run. Each to his own, therefore, and tolerance for all—at least in the short run.

ABSTRACT AND CONCRETE ANALYSIS

Specification of the degree and level of abstraction is an important matter in all science. By degree of abstraction is meant the number of variables to be taken into account, the number left out; by level is meant the number of conceptual removes from the observed data one employs in treating one or another of the variables being discussed. Confusion about the problem of abstract and concrete analysis has been a prolific source of difficulty in structural-functional, as in so many other kinds of sociological, analysis. In a refined system of scientific theory, of course, any degree and level of abstract analysis would be obvious and therefore more likely to be taken for granted by all concerned. It is a sign of the relative crudity of sociological theory in general that it is difficult, and therefore all the more necessary to try, to specify explicitly just what variables are being treated and at what perhaps varying levels of abstractness each is being taken.

Because many members of the structural-functional school have been methodologically sophisticated and have known the virtues of abstraction, some of them have striven to be as abstract and as systematic as they could be about social systems, whether large-scale systems such as societies or small-scale systems such as informal, face-to-face groups.[7] Such abstractions are necessary if one is ever to understand concrete social reality. As von Bertalanffy has put it, "The way of Science is from ideal cases, for which a simple law can be enunciated, to the pro-

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[6] K. Lewin, Reply, p. 290, in Clark L. Hull, "The Problem of Intervening Variables in Molar Behavior Theory," *Psychological Review*, 50 (April, 1943), pp. 273–91. Deutsch, *op. cit.*, also grants that field theory is primarily a mode of analyzing relations among conceptual categories of different substantive character. In his summary of the contributions of Lewin and his students, Deutsch says that, among others, Asch, Sullivan, Gardiner Murphy, G. H. Mead, Parsons, Homans, Cottrell, Barnard, Simon, "and many other prominent theorists are more or less 'field-theoretical' in their approach." It is obvious that many radically different substantive concepts and theories have been treated by these "similar" theorists.

[7] On society as a social system, see Parsons, *The Social System, op. cit.*, and Levy, *The Structure of Society, op. cit.* On small groups, see R. F. Bales, *Interaction Process Analysis*, Cambridge: Addison-Wesley, 1950, and *American Sociological Review*, 19 (December, 1954), entire issue on small groups.

gressive inclusion of complications. It may well be that in many biological fields we know not too few but too many facts and that the very accumulation of an enormous amount of data hampers the discovery of the necessary theoretical schemes." [8] The s-f school has in part been acting upon its agreement with this statement of von Bertalanffy.

Outsiders to the s-f school, however, have often criticized s-f analysis for not explaining some other variable aspect of concrete social reality than the one under view, or even for not explaining concrete social reality as a whole. For instance, this kind of complaint seems to be one element in the critique that Tumin has made of the Davis-Moore structural-functional theory of social stratification.[9] Davis and Moore had attempted to abstract one variable, the prestige structure of stratification systems, from other variable structures in society, for example, the family, values, power, etc. They were attempting to construct an abstract theoretic model for one structural aspect of society.[10] In order to understand concrete reality in any society, of course, this model has to be applied together with other abstract theoretic models for other structural aspects of society. Tumin's critique seems to have been, in part, impatient of this first necessary step; he seems to have wanted Davis and Moore to proceed directly to a more nearly concrete degree of analysis, at least for the problems of stratification. In principle, of course, he would probably urge the virtues of abstraction.

If some have been impatient of one or all of the s-f abstractions, there have also been shortcomings on the other side. Those who select one aspect of concrete social reality have the obligation not only to specify the degree and level of abstraction they are making but also how this might be useful in understanding concrete social systems. Eventually, abstractions are useful only for that purpose, understanding concrete social reality. One cannot do everything at once, to be sure, but abstract s-f analysis would be on clearer and safer ground if it made the effort to describe some of the important scientific tasks it was not attempting in a given piece of research.

In a recent joint paper with Lazarsfeld, Merton has listed as one of the virtues of the formal scheme of analysis that Lazarsfeld applies to Merton's discussion of value-homophily the specification of the level of analysis. The procedure of formal analysis, says Merton, "acts as a prophylaxis against the fallacy of misplaced concreteness, in which conclusions are dubious because one has failed to acknowledge what is being left out of account in the analysis and assumes that conclusions apply to the complex situation as it actually is, rather than to the relations of a few elements in it." [11] As sociology employs more formal and less discursive forms of analysis, the degrees and levels of abstraction in analysis will be more precisely specified. In the same paper, Merton has also called the failure to appreciate the difficulties of moving from more abstract to more concrete kinds of analysis "the and-also fallacy." "This," he says, "is the misconstruction, common among those who are aware of the dangers of misplaced concreteness, which in effect makes an abstract analysis immune to criticism or disproof, by simply attributing all discrepancies between the hypothetical scheme and actual observations to 'other factors' in the situation. At times, there are passing allusions to these factors, without serious regard to the complex problems of really incorporating these many additional variables into a disciplined analysis." [12]

The problem of the mixture of different structural types in a concrete society is closely related to the problem of abstract and concrete analysis. Some critics have as-

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[8] *Op. cit.,* p. 71.

[9] See M. M. Tumin, "Some Principles of Stratification: A Critical Analysis," *American Sociological Review,* 18 (August, 1953), pp. 387–94; Kingsley Davis, "Reply," *ibid.* This is, of course, a fraternal difference of opinion within the s-f school.

[10] See K. Davis and W. E. Moore, "Some Principles of Stratification," *American Sociological Review,* 10 (April, 1945), pp. 242–49.

[11] Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Robert K. Merton, "Friendship as a Social Process: A Substantive and Methodological Analysis," in *Freedom and Control in Modern Society,* M. Berger, T. Abel, and C. H. Page (editors), New York: Van Nostrand, 1954, p. 61.

[12] *Ibid.,* p. 62. See also, in connection with the problem of concrete and abstract analysis, the paradigm in Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure, op. cit.,* Ch. I, for the importance of specifying the "unit sub-served" by any functional arrangement or process.

sumed, because s-f analysis seeks to isolate the different abstract structural types that are possible alternative solutions to any particular functional problem in society, that s-f analysis also must describe any concrete society in terms of one and only one of these different abstract types. This is not so. The isolation and description of different abstract or, as Weber called them, "ideal" types is necessary in order to show their relative occurrence and predominance in the same concrete social system. For example, in the United States, the isolated nuclear type of family structure seems to be the predominant actually occurring type, but the extended type of family also occurs in this society under some specifiable conditions. For example, the extended type tends to persist among first-generation immigrants from peasant societies, among lower-class Negroes, and among upper-class "old" families.[13] The isolation of different abstract structural types should lead to the search for their possibly intermixed, but variously predominant, occurrence in a concrete society. The assumption that there will be a mixture of different abstract types in any concrete society is useful also because it raises other important functional questions, such as the following: How are the different types related to one another? What are the mechanisms for mitigating conflict between them? Is the relative predominance of one type becoming greater or less? Thus, as we shall see in our discussion of the next problem, the isolation of different abstract structural types is necessary to the description and analysis of concrete processes of change, conflict, and mechanisms of adjustment in society.

STRUCTURE, PROCESS, AND CHANGE

Scientific inquiry seeks to explain not only the conditions under which a class of phenomena remains constant but also the conditions under which they change. Only so, by understanding both structure and change, can reliable prediction and the effective control based thereon be achieved. This has been as clear, perhaps, to sociologists as to any other group of scientists, since sociologists have often felt very close to the practical problems of social control. Hence the great interest of sociologists in the problem of social change and its "social problem" consequences. Hence also the frequent criticism of outsiders that the s-f school's analysis has been "inherently static."

As its name implies, structural-functional analysis has attempted to describe the various structural components, and their interrelations, in boundary-maintaining systems. In s-f analysis, the concept of "system" is essential in order to define *some determinate limits* to the set of factors comprising the conditions under which a social pattern or event occur. If it is true that "closure" is implied in the concept of system, as some have asserted, intending thereby a criticism of s-f analysis, then it is only the temporary and provisional kind of closure characteristic of all scientific research. Such provisional closure is necesary in order to proceed with the task of making even a temporary determinate analysis. Similarly, the concept of structure implies only a temporary and provisional closure. Social structure merely defines some pattern picked out at one moment from the endlessly continuing process of social interaction. There is nothing static in either concept, system or structure, except in the sense that all process is assumed to have an analyzable structure at any moment in a time series.[14] Indeed, the assumption of s-f analysis is that it is necessary to understand the structure of a system at any moment in order to compare the system at different moments in a time series. Only by comparing different structures in a time series can one discover whether a system has manifested self-maintaining processes or processes of change, short-term or long-term. How else can one define change except as transformation from one structural type to another structural type? Not all process is

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[13] See W. Firey, *Land Use in Central Boston*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947, Ch. V, on the extended family among the Italian immigrants in the North End of Boston. On the Negroes, see Franklin Frazier, *The Negro Family in the United States*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939. On upper class tendencies toward the extended family, see W. L. Warner's Yankee City Series.

[14] See von Bertalanffy, *op. cit.*, p. 134: "What is described in morphology as organic forms and structures, is in reality a momentary cross-section through a spatiotemporal pattern. What are called structures are slow processes of long duration, functions are quick processes of short duration."

change for a large-scale or small-scale social system. Some process merely maintains the established structural type of the system.[15]

But if s-f analysis is not in principle static, has it tended to be static in practice? More static than what other kind of sociological analysis? Certainly there is much dynamic analysis in structural-functional terms.[16] It is impossible to measure precisely how much of s-f analysis has actually been static, how much dynamic. It is also impossible to know how these proportions might compare with those in other kinds of sociological analysis. There has been, of course, in the early phase of the development of s-f analysis, a tendency to undertake what seemed to be an important first task. That is the task of isolating the functional constants of any society or social system and of describing some of the structural alternatives that solve these constant functional problems. The next and consequential step, that of discovering the actual mixture of different types in a given society and of analyzing processes of conflict, adjustment, and change, may not on occasion have been undertaken also.[17] This next step may be harder, of course, but the premise of s-f analysis has been that the second step would be easier after the first step had been taken.

Here again, however, the advance of science seems to be a somewhat more complex process than is described by this premise. It is probably possible to proceed from notions

of change to notions of structure, as well as the other way around. To be sure, structural categories are always implicit in developmental concepts or notions of change, but it is sometimes possible to carry out useful analysis without making the structural categories explicit. Here again we must be careful of the theorist's fallacy, that concepts can be useful only if they are completely explicit. We are not yet at the stage in social science where all concepts are either purely structural or purely processual or developmental. Many of our concepts are compounded of static and dynamic implications.[18]

IDEOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Finally, we may treat very briefly the problem of the ideological significance of s-f analysis.[19] This problem arises because some critics of s-f analysis assert that it is not only inherently static but also, therefore, inherently "conservative." S-f analysis is presumed by some to be looking for functional connections among the parts of a social system merely in order to justify the status quo, not in order to increase scientific knowledge for its own sake, and certainly not in order to create knowledge useful for changing the existing social arrangements. This criticism seems ill-founded. There was a time when men thought that science was only good in its consequences. We have learned that science, and knowledge generally, can be used for ill as well as good. The view of some people outside the s-f school now seems to be that the sociological knowledge produced by s-f analysis can only be used for what they think is ill, that is, to maintain the status quo. In fact, s-f knowledge, like any other, can be used for many

[15] See Parsons, *The Social System, op. cit.,* pp. 20–21, Ch. V.

[16] See, for example, the following books on the changing structure of Soviet Russian society: Barrington Moore, Jr., *Soviet Politics,* and *Terror and Progress: USSR,* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950 and 1954; Alex Inkeles, *Public Opinion in Soviet Russia,* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950; and R. A. Bauer, *The New Man in Soviet Psychology,* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952. For discussion of the relations between static and dynamic analysis in two empirical fields of great interest to American sociologists, see, J. Masuoka and R. L. Yokley, "Essential Structural Requisites in Race Relations," *Social Forces,* 33 (October, 1954), pp. 30–35; and Albert J. Reiss, Jr., "Some Logical and Methodological Problems in Community Research," *Social Forces,* 33 (October, 1954), pp. 51–57.

[17] See, however, one example in K. Davis' remarks on social class in *The Population of India and Pakistan,* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951, Part VI.

[18] See E. C. Hughes' recent comment about Simmel: "Instead of seeing change as a disturbance of a naturally stable thing called society, he sees stability itself as a temporary (although it may long endure) balance among forces in interaction; and forces are by definition capable of being described only in terms of change." [Hughes' Foreword, p. 9, to Georg Simmel, *Conflict* and *The Web of Group Affiliations* (translated by Kurt H. Wolff and Reinhard Bendix), Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955.]

[19] See also, on this point, Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure, op. cit.,* pp. 38–47, "Functional Analysis as Ideology."

different moral purposes, for changing or maintaining the status quo.[20]

An s-f analysis consists of statements about the relationships between or among two or more structural components of a social system. Any such statement can be viewed in at least two regards. First, it can be viewed as a valid or invalid scientific statement, in the measure that it describes parts and connections of the social system as they objectively exist. Secondly, such a statement can be viewed as having ideological consequences, in the measure that someone with a certain set of goals or values may use it to justify *maintaining or changing* the objectively existing parts and connections. These two aspects of any statement should not be confused. An s-f analysis which con-

sists of scientific statements should not be taken gratuitously to imply any ideological commitment, either to maintain or change the existing system. Because a statement *may* have ideological as well as scientific reference does not necessarily mean that there is actually any ideological intent whatsoever on the part of its author.

The problem of the ideological uses of knowledge is a generic one and applies to all social science, to any method of analysis or system of theory in social science. The problem is not peculiar to s-f analysis. Of course, s-f analysis is no more free than any other system of social scientific theory from the responsibility for keeping alert to the possible ideological uses to which its statements may be put. At the least, perhaps, s-f analysis, as well as other kinds of sociological analysis, might forestall the charge of being ideologically biased by pointing out the several alternative practical and ideological uses to which a piece of knowledge can be put.[21]

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[20] For an excellently stated but misguided charge that practically all of contemporary social science is interested simply in discovering techniques of social control by which men can be adjusted to the status quo, see Wayne Hield, "The Study of Change in Social Science," *British Journal of Sociology*, 5 (March, 1954), pp. 1–11. Hield devotes most of his criticism to Parsons, Merton, and s-f analysis, but he also includes such various people and areas as Elton Mayo, Lewin, Moreno, interracial housing studies, content analysis, Warner, Homans, Tolman, Murray, and Kretch and Crutchfield.

[21] However, this may not always be possible. For further discussion of this and other problems of the social responsibilities of science, see Bernard Barber, *Science and The Social Order*, Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1952, pp. 225–232.

EMPIRICISM AND THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

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Only in this century has it become part of the accepted philosophy of science to insist on the necessity of distinguishing an experimentally testable assertion from a proposal to represent the observable facts by certain words or diagrams.[1]

MAKING due allowance for the negligible role of experiment in its literal sense in sociology, the purpose of the present discussion is to examine in the light of Conant's statement the methodological position identifiable as Weberian. Accepting at the outset that the procedure of "understanding" (in the Adam Smith— C. H. Cooley sense of a "sympathetic" ap-

preciation of the experiences of subjects) is indispensable to sociological research, we should like to scrutinize the legitimacy of its use in the narrower sense of and in the manner prescribed by Max Weber. To all intents and purposes Weber's "understanding" or *Verstehen* involves the imputation of motives for social action in terms of the relation of means to ends—the action qualifying as social to the extent that "by virtue of the subjective meaning attached to it by the acting individual (or individuals), it takes account of the behavior of others and is thereby oriented in its course."[2] For

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[1] James B. Conant, *On Understanding Science*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947, p. 48.

[2] Max Weber, *Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, [tr. T. Parsons], New York: Oxford University Press, 1947, p. 88.

him this "interpretive understanding" not only constituted the highest level of sociological generalization, but was the only justification for the existence of sociology as a distinct field of inquiry.[3] A frequent criticism of the Weberian position is that it is not empirical because "understanding" is subjective.

We shall attempt to show that the first part of the criticism is correct, but not because understanding is subjective. The fundamental deficiency stems rather from the failure to distinguish verification of an empirical proposition from objective confirmation of a definition. It is easy to be misled by a deceptive similarity between these two things, particularly since the same statement might conceivably be either, depending upon the context in which it is used. Under no circumstances, however, can a statement *simultaneously* be a definition and an empirical proposition—the terms are mutually exclusive.

It is important to understand that empirical veracity does not refer to the descriptive adequacy of the concepts which *identify* objects, events, conditions, or processes; neither does it refer to the conformity of properties of objects, events, conditions, or processes to a general statement in terms of which a given class of objects is merely identified. These conformities are matters of objective confirmation of definitions. Empirical veracity is a term which properly applies only to the adequacy with which propositions describe determinate *relationships* among *type* objects, events, conditions, or processes—which objects, events, conditions, or processes already have been defined in terms that are *logically* independent both of each other and of the relationship predicated in the proposition. For instance, the statement, "This is a stone," may be a matter for objective determination in terms of an accepted definition of "stone," but it is not an empirical proposition, even if it be true. If, however, we assert that (under a specified set of conditions) "a stone and a feather will fall the same distance in the same time interval," we have stated a proposition that is empirical even if it be false. It is an empirical proposition because it affirms a relationship between two or more

type objects implicitly (or explicitly, if that were the case) *defined* in logically independent categories. That is, neither is defined for the purpose of that proposition in terms from which either the relationship or the definition of the other object could be deduced. It is precisely this qualification that rescues the proposition from tautology. It would be no addition to our knowledge to learn that "identical objects behave identically under identical conditions." In fact, their failure to do so would merely be regarded as evidence that either the objects or the conditions were not respectively identical.

Some specific examples will serve to clarify the distinction. First, consider the statement, "birth rate is the ratio of births to a base population." From this initial statement it is possible to derive the pseudo-empirical proposition that "birth rate varies directly as the number of births* and inversely as the base population" or that "births are equal to the product of base population and birth rates," or to make any of a number of similar inferences which collectively comprise "a body of logically interrelated 'general concepts' of empirical reference,"[4] (either directly or indirectly).

"Births" and "population" are probably as tangible as any data customarily observed in the social sciences. Both can be observed directly and even measured (counted), but neither the initial statement nor the inferences derived from it are empirical propositions—logically interrelated though the concepts may be. The reason they are not empirical propositions is that "birth rate" is not defined so as to be logically independent of "births" and "base population." In other words, we have a variable, "birth rate" which can not be confirmed independently of the other variables to which we have related it. For this reason, the statement is merely a definition. As such, any specified birth rate might conceivably be confirmed in some manner, but this would be objective confirmation, not empirical confirmation.

By way of contrast, consider the statement "Birth rates vary inversely as 'real income.'" Now, both "birth rates" and "real income" are more abstract concepts

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[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 88–120, especially pp. 99 and 100.

[4] T. Parsons, *Structure of Social Action*, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1949, p. 6.

than either "births" or "population" since the two latter can be observed quite directly while the two former must be derived. Whether the proposition happens to be true is for present purposes unimportant. It is empirical because the stated *relationship* can be verified or fail of verification, as the case may be, independently of any *logical* connection between "birth rates" and "real income."

It should be apparent that the two illustrative statements reflect a very fundamental difference and, therefore, we are scientifically obliged to identify them with different concepts. The first, we may call *a definition*; the second, *an empirical proposition*.

A last example suggests a very important and convenient test of empiricism, i.e., the principle that an empirical proposition must be potentially refutable on non-logical grounds. A proposition which purports to be induced from a particular type of evidence, but which no conceivable type of inductive evidence could refute, is not an empirical proposition. A case in point is the so called "pleasure-pain" or hedonistic principle. This is presumed to be induced from observation of the behavior of human beings, but no conceivable type of behavior could refute it since even the most altruistic behavior is regarded as a special type of pleasure seeking. Whatever "eternal truths" may be embodied in such self-validating propositions, they are non-empirical and hence outside the pale of empirical science. These pseudo-propositions "define" their own facts. Compare them with the Newtonian proposition that (under specified conditions) the distance traveled by a freely falling object is equal to the product of a constant and the square of the elapsed time. There is no end to logically conceivable types of evidence which would be accepted in refutation of this. Perfectly logical alternatives might be: the cube of the elapsed time; the elapsed time to the square root of pi; the elapsed time to the hundredth power; etc. The Newtonian proposition does not define its own "facts" nor logically imply their referents.

We can now consider whether the Weberian type of means-end analysis qualifies as empirical. Any proposition about the relationship of the behavior of an "actor" relative to his presumed "ends" or "goals" is inherently non-empirical if the type be-

havior is logically implicit in those "ends" or "goals," e.g., using "the death wish" as a causal explanation of suicide. Such a statement is at best a definition. Moreover, such propositions are, like those of the hedonistic calculus, wanting in potential refutability. Concerning the failure of given acts of behavior to be forthcoming under observable conditions in which they might have been anticipated in terms of an imputed "end," one can say with equal cogency: (1) that the subject no longer aspires to that end, (2) that the end has temporarily been offset by another more urgent or deep-seated end, (3) that the subject is irrational, or (4) that the actor is more rational than the "scientific observer of action."

Thus the possibility of establishing a demonstrable determinate relationship among the variables is not even a reasonable aspiration. *Ex post facto* "explanations" of behavior are, of course, always possible. There is no such thing as an observable act of behavior that can not, by some mental gyration, be shown to be consistent with, and hence "validate" any "end" or "goal" one wishes to conjure up. In short, the approach has no criteria of relevance for its "facts" other than conformity to its own propositions.

With no acceptable criteria of relevance for its "facts," the Weberian type of action analysis can not be confirmed empirically in any scientifically acceptable sense of the term. Even though it has objective referents in the form of the observable behavior of human beings, its propositions can only be illustrated. It lacks, as we have already noted, a logically independent body of definitions, since it relates "meaningful" behavior to concepts which logically imply it; i.e., "ends," "goals," or "norms."

It is thus evident that while subjective factors can not be ignored in sociological analysis, the particular manner in which they are utilized in Weberian analysis disqualifies them as empirical. One must not therefore conclude, however, that all Weberian analysis, particularly Weber's own, is on that account "worthless." It would appear to be especially suited to an historical as opposed to a sociological frame of reference and additionally it may well prove to be of value as an intermediate or preliminary step in the process of empirical formulation.

THE CHANGING CLASS STRUCTURE OF INDONESIA

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THE countries of Southeast Asia present, in their long historical development, a picture of continuous interaction of indigenous and foreign values and influences, sometimes nullifying each other, sometimes leading to local syntheses. Sociologically this interaction has perhaps been most apparent in changes in social stratification. In the present paper an effort will be made to describe these changes in Indonesia, although it is hoped that these observations may have value for the area as a whole.

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT

Broadly speaking Indonesian societies may be divided into two groups. First, there is a diminishing number that still preserve their traditional and varied social structures, with their own social levels, and their traditional cohesiveness. The second group consists of those societies whose structures have in varying degrees been altered as a result of non-Indonesian influences, including Hindu, Islamic, and Western civilizations. No clear line divides the two groups; each society in the vast Indonesian archipelago must be evaluated by itself in order to determine how far foreign influences have penetrated and to what extent a new and different social class system has emerged side by side with the old, or as in a few cases, has wholly supplanted the old. Moreover a more or less uniform or "national" social class system is, because of the intense cultural diversity among the various races and ethnic groups in the country, in its infancy, although its first manifestations are certainly present.

Still it is possible to present some general class characteristics of Indonesian societies. In the first place, many if not most of the traditional, pre-Western societies appear to have been familiar with a three fold class division, comprising aristocracy, freemen, and slaves.[1] Members of each of these in turn recognize further distinctions, depending on birth, wealth, and socio-economic function. On the eastern part of the island of Sumba in Eastern Indonesia, for example, there were and are two divisions in the aristocracy, the "regular" and the "highest" variety, while slaves too are divided between "family slaves," slaves that are exchanged between wealthy families on important occasions, and the "work slaves" or field hands.[2] In some societies the distinction between the aristocracy and the common freeman is quite important; elsewhere it is not. Moreover many societies recognize the existence of all sorts of headmen, some of them hereditary groups of elders or seniors, villagers (freemen) with land rights, freemen without land but with the right to house and compound, freemen without either, and so on.[3] In some areas the aristrocracy never developed beyond the stage of village or intervillage chiefs; in others a foreign aristocratic element centering around a court center contributed to a developed pattern of noble patrimony.

The impact of Hinduism as a religion and as a civilization in Western Indonesia had two significant social consequences. In the first place it introduced a new class of clerics, among them the Brahmins, who legitimized courts and aristocracy in the Hindu-Indian fashion and enriched the folk culture of Indonesia with ineradicable Hindu-Indian motifs.[4] In the second place Hindu-Indian influences contributed to the development of an already existing class of traders, both of indigenous and foreign origin. The trading class comprised both indigenous nobility at the courts and common folk, who primarily as peddlers participated

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[1] W. F. Wertheim, *Herrijzend Azië. Opstellen over de Oosterse Samenleving*, Arnhem, 1950, pp. 45–59.

[2] C. Nooteboom, *Oost Soemba. Een Volkenkundige Studie*, The Hague, 1940, pp. 29–34. Though slavery was officially abolished in 1860, slavery as a class designation was current until recently.

[3] B. ter Haar, *Adat Law in Indonesia*, edited by E. A. Hoebel and A. A. Schiller, New York: 1948, p. 56.

[4] On Hindu influence see J. M. van der Kroef, "The Hinduization of Indonesia Reconsidered," *Far Eastern Quarterly*, 11 (1951), pp. 17–30.

in the fabulous Oriental trade of antiquity.[5] In a sense both the clerical profession and the trade became channels of social mobility, drawing villagers on to new social levels. Islam, which made its appearance in the fifteenth century, had a similar effect. Muslim *kiajihs* and *ulamas* (scholars of the writ) and their followers broadened the base of the clerical class, an amalgamation of clerical interests took place just as the different religious systems themselves synthesized, although Islam gradually gained the upper hand. The Islamic influence also led to the rise of new royal and noble dynasties and to a further quickening of trade. By the fifteenth century Java had become an international trading ground, its markets bustling with native as well as Indian, Arab, Malayan and Persian traders.[6]

Despite evidences of class rigidity before the fifteenth century, it is evident that a good deal of social mobility existed, particularly in those Indonesian societies (Java, parts of Sumatra, southern Sulawesi) subject to foreign commercial and cultural influences. Javanese history bears witness to a number of adventurers of low birth, some even former slaves, who succeeded in reaching and legitimizing their princely powers. Viziers, ministers, and army commanders of various Indonesian principalities were often also of humble origins and undoubtedly reached their high status through ability and intrigue. Finally, traveling bands of musicians and players, as well as bands of dacoits provided additional opportunities for change from peasant status. Not even at the height of Hindu-Indian influence did a caste society emerge in Indonesia, except in a very attenuated form on the island of Bali.

The coming of the first Europeans in Indonesia and the gradual ascendance of Dutch colonial power initially did not have significant consequences for the native Indonesian societies. The Dutch were at first but one of many foreign nationalities trading with the Indonesian harbor principalities. By the eighteenth century, however, Dutch administrative control and monopoly over Java forced the once proud empires and kingdoms on this island into a steady decline. Inter-island trade declined and Java's society and culture turned inward. Its aristocracy gradually became a mere adjunct of Dutch colonial administration. By the middle of the nineteenth century a new criterion of social classification, namely race,[7] had become firmly established. Supported by legal and judicial schemas of citizenship classification, the Dutch and other Europeans constituted the new social élite, for whom European blood constituted *ipso facto* admission to the status of colonial aristocracy. A growing Eurasian element was also incorporated into this upper level of society.[8] The Indonesian sank to the bottom strata of society, and only the nobility retained a measure of social standing as a matter of principle, because of its affiliation with the Dutch colonial administration. Foreign Oriental minorities, like the Chinese, Arabs, and Indians, occupied an intermediate place. Their retailing and credit operations became virtually synonymous with them, and their separate citizenship classification emphasized the racial contours of colonial society.

The caste like structure of colonial Indonesian society came in the course of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries to be severely threatened by the emergence of three new social classes, which owed their existence to various developmental factors, among them the spread of education, the expansion of private enterprise, the growth of population, the slow development of local government, and the deepening of political consciousness in all levels of the population.[9] These three groups were (1) the non-aristocratic intelligentsia and semi-intelligentsia,

[5] J. C. van Leur, *Eenige Beschouwingen betreffende den Ouden Aziatischen Handel* (Diss., Leyden, Middleburg, 1934).

[6] On the Javanese trade see especially B. O. Schrieke, "The shifts in political and economic power in the Indonesian archipelago in the sixteenth and seventeenth century," reprinted in *Indonesian Sociological Studies. Selected Writings of B. Schrieke*, Pt. 1, The Hague, Bandung, 1955, pp. 3–82.

[7] W. F. Wertheim, "Changes in Indonesia's Social Stratification," *Pacific Affairs*, 28 (1955), p. 41.

[8] On the Eurasian see J. M. van der Kroef, "The Eurasian Minority in Indonesia," *American Sociological Review*, 18 (October, 1953), pp. 484–493.

[9] For the development of these groups see J. M. van der Kroef, *Indonesia in the Modern World*, Bandung, Indonesia, 1954, vol. 1, pp. 150–152.

generally urban centered, (2) the Indonesian capitalist private entrepreneurs, competing with Chinese and Arabs and, (3) a haphazardly organized but potentially powerful proletariat in cities as well as in the countryside. In all three groups the spirit of nationalism awoke and despite differences in political and economic objectives (e.g. conservative Muslim elements in the second group looked with distrust on the radical Marxism current in the third) they were able to present a more or less united front against the Dutch-Eurasian élite and its aristocratic Indonesian ancillary. The racial basis of class antagonism became more prominent during, and after, the first outbreaks of nationalist violence.

The Eurasians and the Chinese especially felt that their class interests were being threatened. The former feared the competitive pressures from the growing numbers of intellectual commoners, who aspired to positions in government and Western corporations usually held by Eurasians. The latter were concerned over the growth of a class of Indonesian private entrepreneurs who competed with the Chinese in handicraft, small scale industry, and the retail trade. Many Eurasian and Chinese groups therefore increasingly turned to the Dutch élite for support and thus incurred the lasting hostility of Indonesian nationalists. But not only the Eurasians and the Chinese were disquieted by the rise of these three new classes. The Indonesian aristocracy too felt threatened in its civil service posts. Some, especially younger members of this aristocracy, reading the signs of the times more accurately than their elders, made common cause with the nationalist element; others transferred their interests to business enterprise and swelled the ranks of the new indigenous entrepreneurial group.[10]

Dutch policy toward the three new Indonesian classes remained essentially repressive. Despite education the Indonesian commoner had to content himself with the lowest jobs; "inner traditions" barred him from certain government services, and a virulent racial discrimination kept him from associating on a par with Europeans of equal education.[11]

The groups of private entrepreneurs, though given some assistance by government credit and distributing services, remained victims of the monopolistic economic position of the Europeans and Chinese. The growing proletariat, though subsisting on very low wages and suffering poor working conditions,[12] remained unsuccessful in its strike activity, the more so since radical and Communist union leaders gave the government ample excuse for the implementation of severely repressive measures in the interest of *rust en orde* ("quiet and order"). While the colonial government was by no means unaware of the new political and social movements stirring the Indonesian community, and while a few governors-general and other colonial officials were not unsympathetic to the wishes of the more moderate nationalist elements, the administration of Indonesia as a whole sank into a barren conservatism,[13] anxious only to maintain the status quo, and arousing a deepening resentment in the more articulate Indonesian circles. The government's policy of favoring as far as possible the customary chiefs and nobility in its administration also caused it to incur the enmity of the Muslim clerical hierarchy, many of whom had become openly sympathetic toward nationalist demands by the outbreak of the Second World War.

The Second World War and the Japanese occupation of Indonesia during most of that war brought a new set of radical changes in the social structure. The Dutch élite, discredited and largely imprisoned, lost its commanding position with one stroke. Eurasians, who had so heavily depended on the full-blood Dutch, were forced to disavow their European blood if they wished to stay outside the concentration camps; not a few found such a change impossible, but the majority decided to adopt temporary "Indonesian" status and furnished proof of the existence of some Indonesian ancestor.[14] The

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10 Wertheim, "Changes," *op cit.*, p. 42.

11 van der Kroef, *Indonesia in the Modern World, op. cit.*, pp. 12–13, 41.

12 Cf. the official report on Indonesian coolie labor conditions, *De Levenswijze van de Arbeiders in de Cultures en van Tani's op Java in 1939–1940. Eindrapport van de Koelie Budget Commissie ingesteld bij besluit van de Directeuren van Justitie en Economische Zaken van 23 December 1938 no. E/82/21/1* (Batavia, 1941).

13 Cf. H. J. van Mook, *Indonesië, Nederland en de Wereld* (Amsterdam, 1949), p. 14.

14 A. A. Zorab, *De Japanse Bezetting van Indonesië en Haar Volkenrechtelijke Zijde* (Leyden, 1954), pp. 68–70.

Arab minority fared relatively well, not least because their religious orthodoxy coincided with Japanese policy of strengthening the Muslim clerical element. Toward the Chinese there was a good deal more distrust, and after an initial conciliatory period a more rigorous policy of repression and internment began.[15] But on none of these groups did the Japanese occupation leave such lasting effects as on the Indonesians. The traditional Indonesian aristocracy, distrusted because of their suspected sympathies for the Dutch Crown, was kept more or less intact in the occupation machinery, but their traditional prestige was deliberately lowered. According to one Indonesian official who served under the Japanese, "aristocrats and commoners were considered as on the same level," and "in general the Japanese showed a conceited and arrogant attitude towards Indonesians of the upper class and intellectuals," while "toward the lower classes their attitude was good and familiar." [16] This description is not entirely correct, because from the start the intelligentsia of Indonesian commoners was raised to a commanding position in society, in government, and in the various movements initiated by the Japanese to intensify national consciousness. The last was perhaps the most significant aspect of Japanese social policy. The relatively docile Indonesian masses were organized and manipulated in semi-military patriotic organizations and labor battalions, in which training methods roused them to fury and subjected them to a continuous stream of propaganda, strongly racial in character. This manipulation of the mass tended to become intensified in the closing stages of the war when the Japanese propaganda machine reached into the smallest and remotest Javanese villages:

> Even in the smallest villages there appeared the so-called "singing towers" or rather radio loudspeakers fixed on pillars, which blared out music, morning exercises, news, information and instructions in all directions. A sample card of programmes was placed before the people who had been hitherto absorbed in

their agriculture, village and family affairs. A "counter-espionage week" followed a Japanese week, and "everybody works week," a "national health week," and a "defence week." In between these was held a "positive victory day," a "local safety day," a "race harmony day," a "day of the Asiatics," a "voluntary service day," an anti-Jew campaign (sic) and a service for all gods." [17]

Along with the incisive processes of economic and political disorganization that followed in the wake of the Japanese occupation Indonesian society began to lose much of its traditional stratification. Class distinctions, whether traditional or colonial, lost their value, and the features of an uprooted mass society became more and more prominent. Under the aegis of nationalism, tacitly encouraged by the Japanese, the consequences of this social equalization soon became apparent: mass demonstrations, carefully cultivated mob hysteria, increasing reliance on political symbols and slogans regardless of their content, a virulent racialism that fostered hatred for the whites, and so on. Together with political independence, the new Indonesian was to inherit all of these.

THE PRESENT CLASS STRUCTURE

The socially disruptive consequences of the Japanese occupation were intensified during the four year revolutionary struggle that followed the close of the Second World War. In December, 1949, the free and sovereign Indonesian state was born. Once again subtle though important changes were to take place in the social structure. To appreciate these changes it is perhaps best to describe the transformation that has occurred in the chief classes and social groups in the country since the close of the Revolution, including (1) the peasantry, (2) the rural and urban proletariats, (3) the entrepreneurial class, (4) the intelligentsia and semi-intelligentsia in government service and the professions, (5) the traditional aristocracy, and (6) the hierarchy of Muslim clerics.

The peasantry. More than 70 per cent of the more than eighty million Indonesians make their living from farming in a traditional village communal environment. Occupation and revolution have dealt the death

[15] Victor Purcell, *The Chinese in Southeast Asia* (New York, London, 1951), pp. 551–555.

[16] S. M. Gandasubrata, *An Account of the Japanese Occupation of Banjumas Residency, Java, March, 1942 to August 1945*, Data Paper no. 10 (Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, Ithaca, 1953), p. 6.

[17] M. A. Aziz, *Japan's Colonialism and Indonesia* (The Hague, 1955), pp. 234–235.

blow to the self contained rural community, except in very remote areas. Village families have moved away; new ones have arrived; social mobility has broken many of the traditional land rights of established villagers, diminished the prestige of traditional chiefs, and attenuated the village class system until mass characteristics have become dominant. But perhaps the most important phenomenon is the emergence in some rural areas, especially in West and Central Java, of a class of big landowners, most of them of the absentee landlord variety, with their managers and supervisors.[18] This class is primarily the product of war and revolution, when land hungry speculators and money lenders made use of rural indebtedness and lack of governmental supervision to accumulate more and more land. In densely populated Java the emergence of the big landowner has heralded the beginning of a polarization of wealth and of class, for the growing numbers of landless are either driven to seek employment as tenants on usurious terms, or forced to join the swelling body of the proletariat. In areas beyond Java, where the land shortage is not so great, the petty farmer in the cohesive village sphere has been able to maintain himself better. Yet, on the east coast of Sumatra, as in East Java, the land hungry peasantry has continued to squat on lands belonging to the Western estates (a process begun during the occupation when peasants desperately needed land to cultivate their food crops) and refuses to be driven off.[19] The Indonesian government has been loath to take decisive action in this potentially explosive situation.[20]

The proletariat. An embryo proletariat already existed in the later colonial period, but far less than today. Labor, especially on the larger Western or Chinese-owned estates or industrial plants, has since the war become increasingly "professionalized." [21] The part time laborer, common in the colonial era, who remained a peasant at heart, and was paid by the day or even by the hour, is fast disappearing. Organized labor, having played a significant role in the nationalist movement and the revolution, has been rewarded with great increases in political influence. The largest labor union, SOBSI, even has its own representation in the parliament. Labor leadership, as yet closely allied to political partisanship, is providing an important new channel of social advancement, promising to become even more important in the future. The proletarization of Indonesian society is taking place at a very rapid rate, and amidst general economic decline and social disorganization the labor unions have become new associational havens primarily for those who have lost virtually all contact with their peasant origins.

The Entrepreneurs. In this class we still find most members of the traditional foreign minorities in Indonesia, such as the Dutch, Chinese, Arabs, and Indians. In this group also belongs a numerically small but by virtue of its political connections, highly influential Indonesian entrepreneurial group, whose rapid ascendancy dates from the period of the Japanese occupation, when the Indonesian business element usually tended to be favored over the Chinese. The economic bases of operations of the class as a whole vary greatly and range from large import-export concerns, estate corporations and large, usually foreign-owned, industrial plants, to the retail and distributing trade (still largely Chinese), transport, extension of credit, and simple handicraft and peddler's operations in which the labor expended by the one man entrepreneur is perhaps even more important than his capital.[22] The Dutch and Chinese entrepreneurs have been able to maintain much of

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[18] Douglas S. Paauw, "The Tax Burden and Economic Development in Indonesia," *Ekonomi dan Keuangan Indonesia,* 7 (1954), p. 571.

[19] The productive role of estates should not be overestimated. Many appropriated far more land than needed, at the expense of the peasant; others re-leased their land to the peasantry; still others employed the same primitive production methods as the Indonesian small holder. Indonesia still awaits definitive agrarian legislation. Cf. B. I. Themans, "Op Weg naar nieuw agrarisch Recht in Indonesia," *Ekonomi dan Keuangan Indonesia,* 7 (1954), pp. 456–470. On the other hand, the present unstable political condition leaves the estate owner disinclined to improve his production procedures.

[20] On the origin and political consequences of the squatters problem see J. M. van der Kroef,

"Communism and Islam in Indonesia," *India Quarterly* (New Delhi), 10 (1954), pp. 314–352.

[21] J. H. Boeke, "Capitalist Development in Indonesia and in Uganda," *International Social Science Bulletin,* 6 (1954), pp. 424–432.

[22] D. H. Burger, "Over de economische structuur van Indonesië," *Indonesië,* 7 (1953), pp. 1–24.

their economic eminence, despite all manner of restrictive government measures, labor agitation, lowered productivity and insecurity. Socially and politically, however, they have lost much influence. The principle of racial distinction, typical of colonial stratification and intensified though in reverse form by the Japanese occupation, has persisted, particularly in this group. Now the *bukan asli* (foreign) population groups, even though citizens of the Indonesian Republic, are economically discriminated against (in land rights, in obtaining industrial credit or import-export licenses). Social tensions based on race have by no means lessened. Racial suspicion, e.g., of the Eurasian and Chinese minorities, has in fact become more prominent under the pressure of extreme political ideologies. Wertheim's contention,[23] that "In the social stratification of the new Indonesia racial criteria will fall ever further into the background" has not been substantiated.

Thus far the importance of the so-called *benteng* group of entrepreneurs (i.e. those of autochthonous Indonesian origin) is social and poltical, rather than economic. The *benteng* group has extensive political connections, in parliament, government offices and in the civil service. Their special preferments have given rise to unprecedented corruption and collusion.[24] Often the *benteng* entrepreneurs, having neither the capital nor the experience to make use of their special licenses, have sold these licenses to Chinese or Dutch business interest, reaping handsome profits from such resales. Alternatively they have become mere "front" men for Chinese business enterprises. Essentially a parasitic class,[25] the *benteng* group invites comparison

with the ancient Indonesian aristocracies that profited from and "passively" invested in the old Oriental trade. Their present alliance with the intellectual and semi-intellectual class now at the helm of the state suggests the hypothesis that the Indonesian Revolution has brought about a fusion of two of the new counter élites discernible in the later colonial period, i.e., those of education and of wealth, with an even greater corresponding decline in the old criteria of élite status.

The Intelligentsia. Interwoven with the entrepreneurial class and sharing with it the position of social leadership in Indonesia, is the intellectual and semi-intellectual element in government services and the professions. This group finds itself in a position similar to that in many other underdeveloped countries: though occupying élite status, it exists on the whole in straitened economic circumstances, aggravated by a rising cost of living. Virtually all government services are grossly underpaid; working and living conditions are extremely difficult; adequate funds, whether for the upkeep of military territorial commands, quarters of the state police, or salaries of officials, are not to be found; and promises of badly needed salary increases cannot be realized because of lack of money. Corruption has been the inevitable result, and wealthy *benteng* entrepreneurs in cahoots with bureaucrats and politicians have enmeshed the government in a network of open graft and bribery. The intellectual element, vanguard of the Revolution, has in the past few years tended to drift further and further from other social strata, especially from the peasantry and proletariat. Intent on consolidating its élite status in the new state, the intelligentsia seized the instrument of politics as a means of improving its status. Thus with few exceptions, most of the more than twenty-five major parties have become primarily instruments of rival élites, and only secondarily serve as channels of existing political, social, and economic demands in Indonesian society as a whole. Not a particular program, but rather the personality of the leader(s) is the chief element of party formation and cohesion. These developments have had their consequences for the social structure. The capital city Djakarta, center of

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[23] Wertheim, "Changes in Indonesia's Social Stratification," p. 50.

[24] Cf. J. M. van der Kroef, "Indonesia's Economic Difficulties," *Far Eastern Survey* 17 (1955), pp. 17–24.

[25] Monetary and non-monetary hoarding appears to be on the increase in Indonesia. Groups with financial resources in the country refrain from investing, deprive the government of tax receipts, and cause the banks to be incapable of mobilizing capital for long range development purposes so badly needed. The ratio of savings mobilized through the banking system (savings or time deposits) "is alarmingly low even when compared to other underdeveloped countries." Douglas S. Paauw, "Financing Economic Development in Indonesia: Public and Private Mobilization of

Voluntary Savings," *Ekonomi dan Keuangan Indonesia*, 8 (1955), pp. 199–215.

party élites, is said to have lost touch with many of the needs and developments of the outlying areas, and the urban intelligentsia, including artists and writers, is said to be unfamiliar with the movements and cultural traditions of the countryside.[26] Such charges, which can be heard with monotonous frequency, do, despite all exaggeration, contain a hard kernel of truth: urban and rural society are further apart, politically, economically, socially and culturally, than perhaps at any other time in Indonesian history, and the social distance between the corresponding classes and population groups is one of the most disquieting developments in post-revolution Indonesia.

A rigidity has become noticeable in this new élite of intellectuals and entrepreneurs. There is still the opportunity to achieve the new élite status through education, political power, and wealth, but the limits have been reached. For one thing, government services, whether army, bureaucracy, or civil service, are already over-loaded, and having overstepped their practicable boundaries, need, according to universal opinion, to be reduced. The intelligentsia and semi-intelligentsia in government service falls primarily within the age span of 35 to 55, the period of its optimum capacity; the younger generation must compete with these members of the revolutionary *pelopor* (forerunners)—if it can. With time new openings will become available, but there is at present a glut of applicants for the better positions; still the magic attraction of being a government officeholder, for many if not most of the younger academically trained intellectuals, continues undiminished.

But still another barrier has risen, namely education. While there are by now adequate numbers of primary schools, there is a decided shortage of secondary schools, particularly of those that prepare for higher education. Public secondary schools are not free, and tuition expenses, especialy if more than one child attends, are prohibitive for a majority of Indonesian parents. The more ad-

vanced positions in government services, for which there are at least in theory certain educational minima, thus seem to be open primarily to the sons and daughters of the fairly well-to-do.[27] In this connection it is worth while to examine the lists of students, regularly published in the press, who have successfully passed various university examinations. Considering that the Chinese constitute only about 3 per cent of the total Indonesian population, the heavy preponderance of Chinese names is startling. More advanced education is—despite revolutionary and nationalistic slogans to the contrary— still the prerogative of the relatively wealthy. The potential dangers in this situation are amplified by the fact that many of the intelligentsia, especially in government service, are as parasitic and opportunistic as some segments of the leading entrepreneurial élite, justifying their corrupt *"immobilisme"* by constantly evoking the pathos of revolutionary idealism and by creating suspicions of foreign conspiracies that threaten Indonesia's independence. Counter élites, including those composed of younger academicians, disgusted with the corruption in government and economic leadership, have in the past two years often been stigmatized by conspiracy charges. Racialism, intolerance and war hysteria (e.g. in the case of Indonesia's claim on Dutch held West New Guinea) have all been enlisted to preserve the status of the older revolutionary élite. Some groups within the élite had reason to fear the recent general elections, since these would destroy

[26] See the address by the noted Indonesian writer Asrul Sani, "De Maatschappelijke wortels van de Indonesische Literatuur," *De Nieuwe Stem*, 8 (1953), pp. 390–397. The recently held first general election may mark the beginning of a reversal in this condition, but it is as yet too early to tell.

[27] J. M. van der Kroef, "Educational Development and Social Change in Indonesia," *Harvard Educational Review*, 24 (1954), pp. 239–255. Relatively high standards—a carry over from the colonial period—and poor primary preparation keep large numbers of pupils from attending secondary schools. The Vice-Chairman of the parliamentary Committee on Education recently announced that in 1955 only 25% of the 12,656 pupils in the city of Djakarta who took the prescribed entrance examinations for the secondary schools were successful. *Oost en West*, August, 1955, p. 7. Though it has been estimated that the number of junior and senior high school students has increased more than ten times since 1940 (the total number of high school students was 258,000 in 1954), this represents only a small percentage of Indonesian youth of high school age. At the same time the rate with which qualified technicians are produced is quite inadequate. See *Ekonomi dan Keuangan Indonesia*, 7 (1955), pp. 400–404, 440.

their power based on the multiple party system. It is therefore understandable that they have repeatedly attempted to forestall the elections, even at the cost of cabinet crises and further political instability.[28]

The Aristocracy. The traditional aristocracy has been able to maintain its position primarily through collaboration with the revolutionary movement and its largely non-aristocratic leaders. Such collaboration existed to some degree well before the Second World War. A small number of the nobility from the highest princely figures (e.g. the present Sultan of Djokjakarta) to less exalted minor chiefs, have even made a new reputation because of their active support of the revolutionary cause. However, most of the aristocracy saw its prestige dwindle still further in the revolutionary and post-revolutionary period, because of its suspected sympathies for the returning Dutch colonial authority which attempted to re-enlist its services. In reprisal some local nobility were massacred (e.g. on the east coast of Sumatra).[29] In Acheh, North Sumatra, the counter élite of *ulama* and other Muslim clerics had been favored by the Japanese as instruments of the occupation. With War's end the local Achehnese chieftains (*uleebalang*) were pushed aside and fell victim to the depredations of fanatic *ulama* and their followers.[30]

Today the observer is struck by the relative influence and power that the members of the traditional aristocracy still enjoy; indeed, it can be said of some of them that they have made something of a comeback to their former positions of eminence. This is due to various factors. In the first place, there are nearly 200 areas in Indonesia of varying size where some form of *swapradja*, i.e. princely autonomy on the basis of still existing colonial agreements and regulations, prevails. The *swapradja* territories are embarrassing to the present Indonesian government. They and their rulers are viewed as an unseemly anachronism, but their position in the new Indonesia has not as yet been defined, partly because the government is reluctant to arouse further regional hostility with which it has had to cope since the beginning of national independence. Moreover, communications between the capital and outlying areas leave something to be desired. In the absence of adequate control the princely rulers are an important stabilizing element in the territories. Secondly, the great diversity of autochthonous concepts and structures of political power in the Indonesian archipelago, of which the *swapradja* are but one feature, is as a matter of principle recognized in the Constitution and in administrative policy. Despite the presence of more modern minded civil service officers and of leveling democratic-nationalist influences in the *swapradja* areas, it is clear that the respect of the populace for its nobility and lesser chiefs is a living and important feature of their folk culture, an element of social stability of such significance that its obliteration by unilateral state measures would undoubtedly bring unrest in its wake. Thirdly, the new significance of the aristocracy derives from its government experience. As a part of the colonial civil service the nobility was one of the few groups that had had actual and continuous experience in public administration, particularly at the local level. Hence, many nobles were reappointed in the national Indonesian bureaucracy, even some who had been loyal to the Dutch. With the institutionalization of political life and the emergence of political parties, the aristocracy increasingly relied on collective action to defend its interests, side by side with the newer, non-aristocratic bureaucratic group. Some Indonesian political parties, like the generally conservative *Parindra,* are in this respect typical "civil servants" parties, many of whose members still bear the proud predicates of Javanese nobility before their names.

Well before the Second World War younger members of the lesser nobility were socially and ideologically not far from the commoner intelligentsia. Even then some of the younger nobility had turned away from an uninspiring government service under colonial tutelage, and toward the professions, the arts, and even business enterprise. The revolution has intensified this trend. It has flattened the social pyramid and decreased

[28] Herbert Feith, "Toward Elections in Indonesia," *Pacific Affairs,* 27 (1954), pp. 236–254. See also the charges of the secretary general of the National Indonesian Party (PNI), Sabilal Rasjad in *Nieuwsgier* (Djakarta), June 23, 1955.

[29] Wertheim, "Changes," p. 48.

[30] A. J. Piekaar, *Atjeh en de Oorlog met Japan* (The Hague, 1950).

the distance between classes that were traditionally far apart; yet at the same time it has tended to fuse the leaders of all these classes, including members of the traditional nobility, into a new élite of political power and wealth.

The Muslim Clerics. The fortunes of war, revolution and national independence have been very good to the Muslim clerical hierarchy. Japanese policy, the growth of an ideological extremism in which many adherents of Western secularism and Marxism are pitted against Muslim orthodoxy, the issue of whether or not some kind of Islamic state, similar to the one in Pakistan, will be established in Indonesia—all have given the Muslim *kiajih* and *ulama* greater prominence. Muslim clerics have now attained a more or less official standing as arbiters of public morality undreamed of in the colonial period when the Dutch sought to keep their influence in check. As an avenue of social mobility and personal advancement religious-sectarian leadership in Indonesia has steadily grown in importance. The number and variety of new religious sects that have made their appearance in the country,[31] are of course symptoms of a profound process of social and cultural disorganization, in which any new ideology, provided it is propagated with the requisite fanaticism and garbed in the spell-binding apparel of messianic supernaturalism, will find ready followers and provide money and prestige to its leaders. The influence of traditional folkhealers and shamans is in most areas as strong as ever. As more or less separate groups in Indonesian society all these clerical and semi-clerical elements constitute something of a new élite.

NEW SOCIAL PROCESSES AND THE CLASS SYSTEM

After surveying these major classes in Indonesia today, something needs to be said of the chief social processes at work among them. In the first place it is evident that the leveling influences of the Japanese occupation and the Revolution, bolstered by the egalitarian doctrines of successful national-

ism, are making the class structures more homogeneous throughout the countless island communities and the different cultural areas of which Indonesia is composed. Prior to the Second World War social structural diversity still predominated, though the beginnings of a more homogeneous class system could be discerned. The persistence of this diversity was due in part to the uneven influence of Dutch colonialism in Indonesia. It was not until the latter half of the nineteenth century that most of Indonesia was welded into a more or less compact administrative unit; in many areas of the archipelago the coming of Dutch control falls within the memory of the oldest inhabitants.[32] It is primarily during the past decade that social structural uniformity has made headway in the wake of political centralization.

In the second place, and not the least in consequence of the above, there has occurred a gradual polarization of classes and class interests on the basis of political power and wealth. To prevent misunderstanding it is necessary to caution that in the more remote areas of Indonesia this polarization hardly exists. But in the growing number of regions where modern business enterprise and national administrative organization are penetrating deeply, the new class contrasts are sharp and clear: a large mass of the poverty stricken and politically mute at the bottom, and a small élite of relative wealth and political power at the top. Important economic factors have contributed to this condition. A modern capitalistic economic structure, placed on top of a pre- or early-capitalistic social system, has permitted a relatively free and unchecked development of capitalistic excesses in a more or less feudal capitalistic framework. The colonial period saw the growth of this process, but despite the markedly anti-capitalistic principles of Indonesian nationalism, it has continued until this day and has even been accelerated.[33] While virtually all political leaders support a "co-operative" (i.e. collectivist) economy as a necessary objective, while the provisional Constitution has a de-

[31] On these new religious movements see *Siasat* (Djakarta), August 10, 1952; *Oost en West*, (The Hague), April 26, 1952, p. 20; February, 1955, p. 72. A special government commission to investigate these new religious sects was formed early in 1955.

[32] Cf. G. J. Resink, "Veronachtzaamde Uitspraken," *Indonesië*, 8 (1955), pp. 1–26.

[33] Compare J. H. Boeke, "Three Forms of Disintegration in Dual Societies," *Indonesië*, vol. 7 (1954), p. 283.

cided collectivist orientation,[34] and while foreign enterprises are being nationalized, the Indonesian government, thus far, under the guise of changing the economy from "colonial" to "national", has bestowed on the autochthonous entrepreneurial group preferments, monopolies, and credit facilities which have turned this group and its lesser political and business ancillaries into an out-and-out capitalist élite. Allied with this élite are government officials and party politicians, many of the big new Indonesian landowners, some enterprising Muslim clerics, and Chinese business interests. The search for wealth has tended to solidify this group under the aegis of the new political power.

It is one of the characteristics of modern revolutionary nationalism in Indonesia, and for that matter in some other underdeveloped countries, that it tends to assign the government such wide regulatory powers, presumably in the general interest, that most socially and economically constructive potentials, all of those whose education, wealth or power place them in a position of leadership, are absorbed by or gravitate to the state. Groups of the educated, or of the wealthy, or of potential power, outside the government and not dependent on it for their livelihood, business operations, or the satisfaction of their personal ambitions, are few and small. The regulatory power of the state has tended to solidify actual and potential élites, and in so doing has tended to strengthen its collective status of eminence, contributing to the polarization of classes. Conspicuous in modern Indonesia is the absence of countervailing social and political pressures emanating from independent professional, business, or other power-centered groups and institutions. One reason is of course the dearth of skilled technicians and administrators in the government services. At the same time the continued absorption by the state of those with such skills, facilitated by the magic aura that a government position has for the intelligentsia, again contributes to a class polarization, in which élite status and gov-

ernment service become identical. An example is the recent declaration of Indonesia's Minister of Health,[35] that in the period 1950 to 1955 (the first five years of national independence), Indonesia's three medical colleges had produced a total of 55 physicians. All of these now work for the government, either in the Ministry of Health, in the armed forces, or in other services.

It seems likely that this process will continue until the Indonesian middle class of trade, industry, and the professions has grown sufficiently large to counteract it. Given the steady economic decline of the country since the colonial period and the various factors that contribute to present élite rigidity (e.g. relatively high educational costs), it may be a long time before middle-class expansion becomes noticeable. In the interim the class polarization process may be expected to continue.

Other observers of contemporary Indonesia have referred to the increasing collectivization of Indonesian life, i.e., the emergence of new collective bodies and associations which have superseded individual action in political and economic life.[36] This process, as de Tocqueville suggested long ago[37] may be inherent in democracy: only through association and group action can particular and individual needs be met. It is certainly due to the increasing diversification of social and economic activity, which tends to institutionalize the individual's function in collectivites with specified tasks or group interests. Within the collectivities, as potential or actual power groups, individual acumen can still lead to personal advancement. Perhaps that is why Indonesia today abounds in economic, political, and cultural associations. Unlike the early nationalist period, with its élite of future "grand old men," recognition and fulfillment of ambition can no longer be achieved by means of one's individual strength: advancement now depends on the nature and degree of institutional affiliation and on the leadership of particular groups. Indonesia is becoming a nation of joiners

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[34] *Provisional Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia* (Kempen, Pertjetakan Negara 1953), especially articles 26, article 37, section 2, and article 38. For a discussion of these and other collectivist tendencies see my *Indonesia in the Modern World,* vol. 1, chapter 3, "Collectivism and the Social Order."

[35] *Java Bode,* June 9, 1955.

[36] Wertheim, "Changes," p. 52. See also W. F. Wertheim, "The Changing Structure of Eastern Society," pp. 50–51 in S. Hofstra edition, *Eastern and Western World* (The Hague, Bandung, 1953).

[37] Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America,* chapter 25, "Public Associations."

and in consequence group manipulation and group loyalty have risen steadily in importance in the machinery of success. All these associations and collectivities, from the many trade unions to police officers associations, veterans groups and federations of artists and painters, are in a sense potential élites or ancilliaries of élites, very conscious politically and willing and able to swing their support to, or to withhold it from, government agencies and political parties. As "pressure" groups they are extremely important, especially to those growing thousands who have lost their traditional status in village, clan, or religious fraternity.

The rise of the collectivities may then be interpreted as a partial response to the growing atomization of society and the increasing mass behavior of its members. Both of these are in large measure the results of a steady process of Western secularization, which, beginning in the cities, is deeply affecting the countryside.[38] In the city marital bonds become laxer, and divorce and abortion are increasing. Suicide, a phenomenon only rarely encountered in rural Indonesian society, is appearing in the city.[39] Radically different relationships between the sexes and between parents and children are beginning to prevail in the city as compared to the countryside. Some areas, like the province of West Java, which have been most subject to disorganizing cultural and social influence, exhibit disquieting tendencies of anomie. In West Java alone, for example, divorces in 1954 amounted to 66 per cent (in 1953 61 per cent) of the number of marriages.[40] Dacoity, arson, and murder, which have plagued the same area for the past decade, are reaching new heights despite strenuous police activity. In other regions similar problems are encountered, though probably not so acutely.

Among the objectives for which the Indonesian Revolution was fought were the maximization of social mobility and of opportunity for individual advancement in a social egalitarian order, along with an end to the caste like system of colonial stratification and of the anachronisms of feudal privilege.[41] At present there appear to be processes, which are contrary to these objectives. One must hope that with political stability and economic growth Indonesia may yet realize the potentially important social gains of its Revolution.

[38] On Western secular influence see J. M. van der Kroef, "Patterns of Western Influence in Indonesia," *American Sociological Review*, 17 (August, 1952), pp. 421–430.

[39] Cf. the case study by H. T. Chabot, "Jonge Vrouwen in Conflict; Een studie in cultuurverandering, aan de hand ener vergelijking van stads-en plattelandsgegevens," *Indonesië*, 8 (1955), pp. 40–47.

[40] Cf. the report of the *Kantor Agama* (Bureau of Religious Affairs) of West Java in *Merdeka* (Djakarta), February 14, 1955.

[41] The social objectives of the Indonesian Revolution have been analyzed in my book, *Indonesian Social Evolution: Some Psychological Considerations*, Leyden: J. H. Brill, 1956.

CHURCH POLICY AND THE ATTITUDES OF MINISTERS AND PARISHIONERS ON SOCIAL ISSUES *

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SOCIOLOGISTS of religion have devoted considerable attention to studying the relationship between the social policy of the church and the prevailing values of the secular community towards the social, economic, and political institutions of a society. Some, as Troeltsch, Yinger, and

Johnson [1] note the tendency of the church, which they distinguish from the sect, to become "broadly inclusive and representative, inevitably taking on the character of the community as a whole." [2] Church policy on social issues is seen almost invariably as an adaptation to or compromise with the dominant secular point of view. The church seldom acts to foster social change but rather functions to preserve the status quo.

Such general conceptualizations invite attempts at documentation and refinement. In a modest way, this is the intention of the present paper.

Our major concern is the relationship between what the church has adopted as its official policy on a number of social, economic, and political issues and the prevailing climate of opinion on these same issues among the membership of the church. At the same time, we are interested in examining the position of the clergy, particularly on those issues where there is conflict between official church policy and parishioner sentiment.

The inquiry is based, in part, on the secondary analysis of data which were obtained originally to help guide a major denomination—the Protestant Episcopal Church—in planning its social relations program. These data are derived from questionnaires which were collected in 1951–2 from a sample of ministers and 1,530 lay persons of the denomination, the latter being randomly selected from the parishes of the ministers included in the study. The sample encompassed two distinct but interrelated data collection operations. First, a national sample of 234 congregations, stratified according to size of parish, was selected. Their ministers were sent a questionnaire which sought information on the characteristics of the local church: its size, wealth, surroundings, etc.; on the nature of its community activities;

and on the extent of its participation in the social education program of the church.

Then, a probability sample of lay members from the sample parishes as well as the ministers of these congregations was sent a questionnaire designed to measure their attitudes on social problems and on public issues, particularly those upon which the church had taken an official stand, to obtain information about the kind of role they would have the church play in public affairs, and to identify, in the case of parishioners, the nature and kinds of ties they have to the church.

The lay sample was selected from the membership lists of the local parish, and the number of respondents sought in parishes of a given size was based on the percentage of the total church population represented by parishioners in congregations of that size. As a result, the distribution of respondents according to size of parish corresponds closely to the distribution of communicants in these parishes. (See Table 1.)

TABLE 1. PER CENT OF COMMUNICANTS AND RESPONDENTS BY SIZE OF PARISH

Size of Parish (No. of Communicants)	Per Cent of Total Communicants in Each Group	Per Cent of Respondents in Each Group
1–350	35	37
351–750	31	30
751 and over	34	33
	(N=1,619,703)	(N=1,530)

Both men and women were included in the sample, but women comprised the larger number: 60 per cent, women; 40 per cent, men. The age distribution of the sample was: 18 per cent, younger than 30 years of age; 44 per cent, 30 to 49 years of age; and 38 per cent, 50 years of age or older.

Aside from these data, we examined the pronouncements on social issues adopted by the church at its triennial national meetings, at which all of the dioceses in the United States as well as overseas missions are represented.

Although the problem being analyzed in this paper differs somewhat from that dealt with in the original opinion study, there was no need to modify or to change procedures for handling the questionnaire data—the data being used in our paper for the same

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[1] Ernest Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, 2 vols., New York: The Macmillan Co., 1949; J. M. Yinger, *Religion in the Struggle for Power*, Durham: Duke University Press, 1946; and F. Ernest Johnson, "Do Churches Exert Significant Influence on Public Morality?" *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 280 (March, 1952), pp. 125–132.

[2] Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

purpose for which they were used in the original study: namely, as indicators of parishioners' attitudes toward various issues. However, the fact that the data were not collected with our express purposes in mind has made it necessary to approach the analysis in a somewhat more indirect way than would have been possible otherwise, and to limit the analysis to attitudes on those issues which were dealt with in the questionnaire.

Despite this limitation, we were able to derive from the questionnaire attitudinal data about how parishioners felt on nine public issues. The questionnaire included two to five items on each, the average being three items per issue. By combining these items, we constructed an index for each issue. These indices enabled us to identify each respondent's attitudes roughly along a continuum ranging from the most unfavorable to the most favorable position.

The specific issues included and the range of parishioner attitudes which they invoked are reported below: [3]

1. *War* deals with the acceptability of war as an instrument of international policy. Attitudes range from unqualified acceptance of

[3] In view of the church sponsorship of the study, the directors of the study were aware of the probable temptation on the part of some respondents to reply to various questions according to what they believed the "correct" or "right" answer should be and not according to their private convictions. Accordingly, the directors were careful to emphasize the need for frankness and to point out the existence of varying points of view on each question. They also stressed the confidential nature of the replies and assured respondents of anonymity.

Despite these assurances, it is probable that some bias may have manifested itself. However, it is the considered opinion of the authors that if it is present, it is not sufficient to affect the results. For, if it were a major factor, then we should have expected a much greater unanimity, a much greater consensus on certain issues, particularly those upon which the church has a clear and identifiable stake and on which, accordingly, we would expect temptation to be greatest for giving an "expected" or "correct" answer. Yet, interestingly enough, on two of three such issues—intermarriage with Catholics, and treatment of conscientious objectors—instead of consensus, there is diversity of opinion. Marked differences also exist between the opinions of clergy and parishioners on these two issues.

This and other inferential evidence suggest that the answers of most clergy and parishioners to the various questions in this study were primarily expressions of their own "private" feelings rather than of "public expectations."

war as an instrument of policy to rejection of its use under any and all conditions.

2. *Political role of the church* treats of attitudes toward participation of the clergy in political affairs. Attitudes range from approval of a partisan political role for the clergy to rejection of even the minister's right to encourage his parishioners to vote.

3. *Government control* deals with attitudes toward government control of business. Attitudes range from approval of increased governmental regulation of private industry to rejection of any form of governmental control, even in wartime.

4. *Labor* deals with attitudes toward labor unions. Attitudes range from partisanship toward labor in its relations with management to rejection of labor's right even to organize.

5. *United Nations* bears on the acceptability of the United Nations as an agency of international cooperation. Attitudes range from support of the United Nations to opposition to it.

6. *Immigration* treats of attitudes toward the immigration policy of the United States Government. Attitudes range from support for a liberal to support for a restrictive immigration policy.

7. *Conscientious objectors* bears on the right of conscientious objectors to refuse to bear arms. Attitudes range from complete endorsement of this right to refusal to grant it.

8. *Human rights* deals with treatment of persons belonging to ethnic, racial, or religious minorities. Responses range from acute concern with rights of these persons to indifference toward the problem.

9. *Intermarriage* treats of attitudes toward intermarriage with Roman Catholics and the rearing of children born of such unions as Catholics. Attitudes range from opposition to intermarriage to acceptance of both intermarriage and the rearing of children as Catholics.

CHURCH POLICY

The Episcopal Church has a long tradition of concern with the social and economic problems of society. It expresses this concern officially through passage of resolutions at its triennial denominational meeting, at which both clergy and laity are represented.[4] From

[4] For a resolution to be adopted as the official policy of the church, it must be passed by both the House of Bishops and the House of Delegates. Membership in the former is restricted to Bishops of the church; membership in the latter is divided

the 1901 convention, which, according to one writer, initiated or established a tradition, as it were, of passing resolutions on social relations issues, to the 1949 convention, resolutions on approximately seventy-six different social topics were presented. These resolutions, once adopted, become the official policy of the church. They are reported in the minutes of the meeting and are disseminated to the membership and clergy through a rather elaborate social relations program which the church has established. Acceptance of these resolutions by clergy and membership is, however, purely voluntary.

Of the nine issues with which we are dealing, the church has passed resolutions which clearly identify its position on seven.

On five of the seven the church has taken a firm and clearly identifiable stand. The resolutions are explicit and signify unqualified endorsement of a given position. For example, the church has taken an extremely strong stand in support of the United Nations.

> *Resolved:* That it should be a fundamental objective of the foreign policy of the United States of America to support and strengthen the United Nations and to seek to develop through the United Nations, or otherwise, a world government open to all peoples with defined and limited powers to preserve peace and to prevent aggression through the enactment and enforcement of world law. . . .

Similarly, it has adopted a clear-cut, firm position on the rights of minorities exemplified by the following resolution adopted at the 1952 meeting:

> *Resolved:* That we consistently oppose and combat discrimination based on color or race in every form, both within the Church and without, in this country and internationally.

In addition, the church has unequivocally endorsed a liberal immigration policy, the rights of conscientious objectors to refuse to bear arms, and it has opposed intermarriage of parishioners with Roman Catholics where

children born of such unions would be reared as Catholics.

No such firmness of viewpoint typifies the church's position on the other four issues under study. We were unable to learn of any resolutions bearing directly on the political role of the church and government control. However, the inference can be drawn from examining related issues that the church has avoided serious consideration of these issues, in part, because they bear on matters which are subject to different interpretations in the light of Christian thought and in part because they are considered by some to be outside of the church's authority.

On the two remaining issues, war and labor, resolutions have been passed. Unlike the issues discussed above, the church's position on these is equivocal rather than committed. Reservations and qualifications are clearly introduced. The church's position on war, for example, is condemning, but the pertinent resolution provides for conditions under which war is authorized. We quote from the resolution passed at the 1952 meeting.

> *Whereas*, the first Assembly of the World Council of Churches, meeting in Amsterdam in 1948, confessed that although Christians are one in proclaiming to all mankind that "war as a method of settling international disputes is incompatible with the teachings and example of our Lord Jesus Christ," they are nevertheless divided on the question of actual participation in war, and
> *Whereas*, the World Council urged upon all Christians the duty of wrestling continuously with the difficulties raised by these conflicting opinions and of praying humbly for God's guidance; therefore be it
> *Resolved*, that this Convention, acknowledging with penitence the existence of the same unhappy division within our own communion, urge all members of this Church
> 1. To seek through study, conference and prayer a clearer understanding of the will of God with regard to war, and endeavor to come to a common mind in Christ, and
> 2. That it request the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church to make available materials for the purpose of such study.

Other resolutions testify to the church's deep-rooted desire for peace and disarmament, and its vigorous disapproval of preventive war. Yet, the church does not accept

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equally between clergy and laity, four clergymen and four lay members representing each diocese. Wherever church policy is cited hereafter in this paper, it refers to the policy set forth by the national governing body of the church, and not to policies voted upon at either the diocesan or parish level.

a pacifist position. It recognizes, but grudgingly, the legitimacy of war under certain conditions.

In its stand on labor, the church is also equivocal. While recognizing the rights of labor vis-à-vis management, it shies away from a position which could be interpreted as partisan. As a chuch spokesman states: "(In labor-management relations) the church is not a bystander but it is not partisan either. It is equally responsible for capital and labor and should strive to be an interpreter of one to the other and to serve as a mediator. Both capital and labor have rights which must be respected as well as duties which must be performed." Thus, the church's position in labor is a relatively moderate, balanced one without any show of partisanship for labor. It is a qualified endorsement of the general rights of labor, but equally, a recognition of the rights of management.

In effect, resolutions passed by the church on the nine issues under study can be distinguished roughly as being committed or equivocal in the positions they support. On five issues—the United Nations, human rights, conscientious objectors, immigration, and intermarriage—the church has adopted a *committed* position in favor of a given point of view. On four issues—the political role of the church, government control, war, and labor—the church's ideology is or may be interpreted to be *equivocal*, i.e., balanced, and moderate in tone and form.

As the two types of issues are compared, certain striking differences may be noted. Issues upon which the church has taken a strong position are, with one exception, the United Nations, those dealing with normative responsibilities of parishioners either toward their church or toward individuals and non-economic groups in the larger community. They may be classified as *ideological* issues reflecting an interpretation of the basic principle, "Do unto your neighbor as you would have him do unto you." Issues on which the church has taken an equivocal position, on the other hand, all hold in common a somewhat different attribute. They, along with the United Nations issue, deal with the question of *power*

—either that relating to the distribution of power between classe· as in labor and government control, between communities as in war, or within the community as with the political role of the church.

CHURCH POLICY AND PARISHIONER SENTIMENT

Based on the theoretical assumptions presented in the first paragraph of this paper, the following propositions about the relationship between parishioner sentiment and national church policy might be expected to apply:

1. That where parishioners hold divergent views on an issue, the church will be equivocal in its position on this issue.

2. That where parishioners are partisan on an issue, the church will be equally committed in its position.

Presumably, the church can most effectively retain the loyalty of its membership by being committed on certain kinds of issues and equivocal on others. When parishioners are in substantial agreement on an issue, they will feel that their attitude is being reinforced by the church's committed stand, and they will not experience conflict with the church's equivocal position when their attitudes are divergent.

With these expectations in mind, an examination was made of the data obtained from interviews with parishioners. We first examined those issues on which the church's position had been identified as equivocal. Using a coefficient of relative variation (standard deviation divided by the mean), we were able to classify parishioner sentiment on each of these issues as being convergent or divergent: [5] convergent meaning

[5] The classification of parishioner sentiment as convergent or divergent was accomplished in the following manner. The nine issues were ranked on the basis of the size of their coefficient of relative variation. The four issues with the lowest values were considered as issues upon which parishioner sentiment was relatively *convergent;* the remaining as those upon which parishioner sentiment was relatively *divergent*.

The nine issues ranked by their coefficient of relative variation are reported on page 153.

that there was more or less unanimity of opinion among parishioners, divergent meaning relative heterogeneity in parishioner opinion. On three of the issues on which church policy is equivocal—war, the political role of the church, and government control—parishioner opinion is relatively uniform. On the fourth issue—labor—parishioner opinion is divergent.

Thus, only on the issue of labor are our expectations clearly confirmed, namely, that the church will adopt an equivocal or conciliatory position where parishioner sentiment is divided. Having a membership which is divided in its attitudes toward labor and existing in a broader community in which this divergency of view is also reflected, the church's equivocal position would seem indeed to represent an attempt to conciliate both sides. It might be noted, parenthetically, that equivocality has not always typified the church's position on this issue. In the late 19th century before the rise of the labor movement, church policy was informally committed to a position in support of management's point of view. The fact that the church later adopted an equivocal position in the face of labor's ascendancy would appear to be a further reflection of its adaptive propensities.

On the other three issues on which the church is equivocal—war, government control, and the political role of the church—parishioner sentiment, contrary to our expectations, is convergent; parishioners are more or less agreed on given points of view on these issues. They are agreed that war is justified under many conditions, that govern-

mental control of economic life should be severely limited, and that the church should not engage in partisan politics.[6] The church does not, however, identify with these views in a partisan way, and it would seem that our propositions concerning the relationship between church policy and parishioner sentiment are not confirmed, in these instances, at least. However, while the manifest nature of the relationship is different from that anticipated, the church's position nevertheless reflects a desire to keep from alienating parishioners.[7]

On the issue of war, for example, although religious ideology might very well justify a pacifist opinion, the church, in the face of prevailing parishioner sentiment, would seem to have compromised its position to the secular one. Even though it recognizes the conflict between its religious ideology and prevailing secular attitudes, it has not taken a resolute stand in favor of the former. It seeks to reconcile the two. It neither accepts war as a desirable method for settling international disputes nor rejects its use under present world conditions—a view which is unlikely to antagonize its membership.

On the other two issues—government control and the political role of the church—the church's resistance to speaking out would also seem to reflect a compromise with parishioner attitudes. By adopting an equivocal attitude in the case of war and by remaining silent on the matters of government control and the political role of the church, the church does not, as we had expected, explicitly identify with convergent parishioner attitudes, but implicitly the effect is the same as if it had.

Is this apparent propensity of the church to adapt its position to secular values also in evidence where the church takes a committed position on an issue? Are parishioners equally committed on such issues and in the same direction? Overtly, our data provide more evidence in support of negative than in support of positive answers to these

Rank Order	Issue	Coefficient of Relative Variation
1	War	.29
2	Political role of the church	.43
3	United Nations	.46
4	Government control	.49
5	Immigration	.64
6	Intermarriage	.64
7	Labor	.68
8	Human rights	.69
9	Conscientious objector	.77

Men and women exhibit similar tendencies. Despite minor variations in rank order of issues within each of the two classes, the *convergent* and *divergent*, the same issues were found in each class among men and women. The Spearman rank correlation coefficient is .77.

[6] This is not to suggest that there is unanimity of opinion among parishioners on these issues but rather that there is relatively more agreement on these issues than on those on which we have identified parishioner opinion as divergent.

[7] It should be remembered, however, that the church's position is determined, in part, by lay representation at the triennial national meetings.

questions. On only one issue—the United Nations—are parishioners in essential agreement with the stand the church has taken. Wherever else the church is committed—on human rights, conscientious objectors, intermarriage, and immigration—there is wide divergency of opinion among parishioners. On these issues, the church has elected to adopt a point of view in the face of considerable diversity of opinion among its parishioners. This is not what we would have expected in the light of our adaptive propositions concerning the relationship between church policy and parishioner sentiment.

Unfortunately, the data do not provide the evidence necessary for an explanation of the interesting relationships they reveal. However, looking at the findings from a historical perspective, we can suggest some of the conditions which may have led the church to adopt its committed position on these issues.

The church's present position on intermarriage with Roman Catholics was only officially adopted as church policy at the triennial national meeting of 1949. However, this represented no more than formal recognition and reinforcement of a position included in the mores of the church throughout its history. The 1949 resolution was adopted as a reaction to an increasing propensity among Episcopalians to take a lenient view on this question and to regard as acceptable intermarriage with Catholics even where this included raising the children of such marriages as Catholics. In this instance, then, the church is attempting to retain its traditional view despite an increasing shift among parishioners to a more permissive attitude. It can be assumed that if parishioner sentiment becomes even more permissive on this issue, the church will be placed in an increasingly difficult situation in defending its own position. However, since the survival of the church is tied in with this issue, it is unlikely to compromise its position despite opposing parishioner sentiment.

Just as in the case of the intermarriage issue, the church's committed resolutions on human rights, conscientious objectors and immigration are of relatively recent vintage, all having been passed since the turn of the century. Earlier resolutions on these issues

were in each case equivocal. These changes in church policy parallel shifts in parishioner sentiment that occurred over the same time span. Although there are no specific data, it would appear that twenty or more years ago, there was less divergence of opinion and a greater number of parishioners were then agreed on a conservative point of view on these issues. The adoption of a partisan position on the church's part, then, appears as a response to this shift in parishioner sentiment. Only in this case, unlike the intermarriage issue, the church does not seek to support the conservative point of view. It has, instead, joined forces with the advocates of social change.

This is also seen in the church's support of the United Nations. In this case, it will be recalled, parishioner sentiment reflected the church's point of view. Again we must rely on a presumption, but it might be reasonably surmised that the church's advocacy of a positive attitude towards the United Nations may have contributed to the development of a convergence of parishioner opinion on this issue. This interpretation is supported in part by the fact that the church has devoted particular effort to bringing its position on this issue to the attention of its parishioners through its social relations program.

Earlier reference was made to the fact that the church's committed position with respect to the United Nations represented something of a departure from the character of the stand it has taken with respect to other issues involving questions of power. The explanation for the exception undoubtedly is related to the Episcopal Church's traditional ties with Great Britain and the Church of England. Among all American denominations, the Episcopal Church has been the most consistently internationalistic and has given strong support to both the League of Nations and World Court, as well as to the United Nations.

These results do not entirely refute the adaptive hypothesis concerning the church's participation in secular affairs, but they do warn of some important qualifications. The church does not merely support the status quo, nor merely follow the lead of its parishioners in the formulation of its social and economic policy. Our data show that

the church is in fact ahead of (more liberal than) its laity on most issues. It is more receptive to social change than its parishioners.

But in supporting social change, the church must proceed cautiously lest its stand offend the collective sentiments of its parishioners. This danger is most acute on issues which bear directly on the distribution of power in society, such as war, labor, government control and political role of the church. On these issues parishioners have definite convictions and their self-interest is clearly identifiable. As a result, the church seeks to avoid a head-on collision with the collective will of its laity on these issues. It treads softly and resorts to equivocality in its pronouncements. At the same time, it does not identify completely with parishioner sentiment but includes in its pronouncements reference to the normative principles which an issue involves.

However, on issues of an ideological or moral character, the church finds it less necessary to temper its stand in accordance with the will of its parishioners. There is no solidified collective will of parishioners which can serve as a brake on church policy. Parishioner sentiment on these issues is largely unsettled and divergent, suggesting the lesser importance of these issues for the self-interest of parishioners. As a result, the church has a greater opportunity to exercise its leadership. It can express itself through strong and clear-cut pronouncements.

The church's social policy, then, depends on the nature of the issue and the state of sentiment among parishioners. On issues where parishioner sentiment is relatively homogeneous, and self-interest considerable, the church's ability to deviate from the views of its parishioners is severely limited. It must compromise its policy and accommodate itself to the views of its parishioners. But on issues where parishioner sentiment is relatively unsettled and the church has a definite normative interest, the church is better able to step forth in a firm and decisive manner.

CHURCH POLICY, MINISTERS' ATTITUDES AND PARISHIONER SENTIMENT

There is still one major question to be answered with respect to our analysis. What is the position of the Episcopalian minister on the issues under discussion? The minister of the local parish is, of course, the crucial link in communicating church policy to the church's membership. However, at the same time, his position is such that he becomes the individual most subject to cross pressures where conflict arises between church policy on an issue and how his parishioners feel on this issue. Our data do not provide any evidence on the degree to which the minister experiences such cross pressures and how he reacts to them. However, we do know something about how his attitudes on the nine issues we have been discussing are related to those held by his parishioners.

Using a coefficient of disagreement,[8] the nine issues were ordered in terms of the amount of disagreement which exists between the attitudes of ministers and parishioners.

With the exception of the United Nations issue, ministers and parishioners differ least in their attitudes on the four issues—war, the political role of the church, government control, and labor—on which church policy is equivocal. They differ most, again except

[8] In order to measure the relative disagreement between parishioner and his minister on each of the nine issues, we constructed a coefficient of disagreement in the following manner: the parishioner's score on a given issue was subtracted from his minister's, the difference was squared and then the squared differences for all parishioners were summed. To standardize the values for purposes of comparing the various issues, the sum of the squared differences was divided by maximum possible disagreement score (squared) multiplied by the total number of parishioners. The range of values this coefficient can take is from 0 to 1. The latter indicates maximum disagreement; the former, minimum disagreement.

A coefficient value for each of the nine issues was obtained, and the issues were ranked according to the size of the value. The rank order is reported below:

Rank Order	Issue	Coefficient of Disagreement
1	Political role of the church	.1124
2	War	.1252
3	United Nations	.1656
4	Government control	.1681
5	Labor	.1948
6	Immigration	.2047
7	Intermarriage	.2433
8	Human rights	.3076
9	Conscientious objector	.3205

The rank order of issues among men and women is quite similar, the Spearman rank correlation coefficient being .89.

for the United Nations issue, on those issues on which church policy is partisan—immigration, human rights, intermarriage, and conscientious objectors.

Ministers' attitudes clearly tend to reflect church policy. Where the church has elected to compromise on an issue, the minister also has compromised with the views of his parishioners. However, where the church has taken a partisan point of view, the minister generally identifies with this view despite the opposition of a substantial segment of his parishioners.

As might be expected, there is a tendency, although it does not hold true in all cases, for ministers to differ least among themselves on issues on which church policy is partisan and to differ most among themselves on issues on which church policy is equivocal. Where the church has made up its mind, so have the ministers; where the church is equivocal, so are the ministers.

AN EXPERIMENT IN VALUE MEASUREMENT *

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CONSIDERATION of the problems of an international communicator is likely to lead to questions of the social values or value systems of communicator and audience. In 1954 the author was engaged in a U. S. Information Agency[1] research program which had two objectives: actual pre-testing of leaflets and pamphlet materials to be distributed overseas, and development of new and relatively unbiased pre-testing procedures. The subjects were Indian and Filipino nationals attending universities in the San Francisco Bay area. The value problems arose in questions like the following:

(1) Do the information materials which might be distributed in the subjects' homeland contain implicit assumptions about, or explicit references to, the desirability of certain elements in the communicator's culture which may be negatively valued in that of the subjects? (2) Are there positive values in the culture of the other country which the communicator could have used in his appeals, but failed to use? (3) Do the subjects have preconceptions concerning actual or supposed value orientations in U. S. culture (e.g., dollar orientation) which may distort their perception of certain ele-

ments in communication content by or about Americans or which may lead to their perceiving selectively certain elements in communication content which the communicator has not knowingly emphasized?[2]

To work toward answers to questions like these, one ought to have some knowledge of what is believed in, approved, or valued by the potential readers, and data based on content analysis of communication materials in this light.

This article deals with a procedure developed to measure the relative importance and/or acceptability of certain value concepts to three groups of subjects: 42 Indian nationals, 79 Filipinos, and 60 upper-division Stanford University students. A paired-comparisons technique was used to assess the probable influence of contextual and sequential factors upon results and the commensurability of qualitatively dissimilar value concepts.

THE "KOLOMAN" PROCEDURE

As part of the pre-testing program at Stanford, a simple plus/minus marking method was used to obtain a record of reactions to content elements in printed material. The marking system was part of a pre-testing procedure called the Content Response Code, a method which was in part an analogue (for use with printed

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* Revised version of paper read at annual conference of American Association for Public Opinion Research, April, 1955.

[1] The research was conducted by the Institute for Journalistic Studies, Stanford University. The author is indebted to the U.S. Information Agency for permission to publish this article.

[2] Problem (3) was dealt with largely by means of sentence-completion tests.

materials) of the Lazarsfeld-Stanton Program Analyzer technique.[3]

In the "Koloman" procedure a modification of this plus/minus marking method was applied to a "Platonic dialogue" in which a group of "explorers" discussed national goals and priorities for these goals in "Koloman," a mythical new country (analogous, in a sense, to the new republics of the Philippines and India).[4] The dialogue was so written that each paragraph, insofar as possible, dealt with a single value concept.[5] Subjects were asked to place a plus or minus mark (or a double plus or double minus, thus allowing some measure of intensity) beside every argument with which they felt they would agree or disagree if they were discussing national goals of a country like "Koloman." The subjects were to make no mark when they were not sure whether they would agree or disagree.

The dialogue content was chosen purposively. Sources included (1) a list of word-concepts which American foreign service officers in Far Eastern countries had rated for potential "effectiveness" in their areas;[6] (2) some of the value categories used in Ralph K. White's content analysis system;[7] (3) concepts emphasized in U. S. Information Service literature examined or tested in the parent study; (4) a catalogue of American value orientations prepared by Robin M. Williams, Jr.;[8] and (5) impressions the investigator acquired from area literature and area consultants.

Thus the "explorers" in "Koloman" discussed a variety of subjects, including the following: the kind of educational system "Koloman" should have; type of government (*i.e.*, *laissez-faire vs.* welfare state); foreign capital; birth control; ownership of land and industry; race relations (no segregation *vs.* kind, friendly, and helpful treatment, with segregation allowed); industrialization *vs.* a handicraft society; equal rights for women; censorship of the mass media; religion (freedom of worship with tolerance of all faiths; state religion; mere emphasis on "spiritual values in life"), and family structure. A sample dialogue unit appears below:

> IVA: No matter how our economy is controlled, I think we need to bear in mind the fact that even a country as richly endowed by nature as Koloman will not be prosperous for very long unless its population is kept within bounds. We need widespread education in birth control and family planning so that we will not become overpopulated.

The "Koloman" material was presented separately to the three groups. In the case of the foreign subjects, who came from several San Francisco Bay area colleges and universities, "Koloman" was worked into one of several day-long experimental sessions held with each group in San Francisco. The American subjects (a Stanford University class in educational sociology) were tested in the classroom.

Although the dialogue was used as a

[3] Roy E. Carter, Jr., "The Content Response Code: A Pre-testing Procedure," *Journalism Quarterly,* 32 (Spring, 1955), pp. 147–60. See also, Tore Hollonquist and Edward A. Suchman, "Listening to the Listener," in *Radio Research, 1942–43* edited by Paul Lazarsfeld and Frank Stanton, New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1944, pp. 330–332.

[4] Much of the actual writing of "Koloman" was done by Wayne A. Danielson, who also suggested the "dream country" approach. The experimenter is indebted to Chilton R. Bush for the idea of a "Platonic dialogue" context for the "national goals." The present author directed the preparation of the dialogue, developed the plan for the application of the Content Response Code marking procedure to material with a predetermined unit, designed the experiments, and carried out the analysis. Names for the "country" and for the "explorers" were made up from nonsense syllables.

[5] In the "Koloman" study, "national goal" was in effect taken as an operational definition of "value concept." Stuart C. Dodd, in order that values "may be reduced to scientific observation and experimentation," would define a value as "a desideratum . . . anything desired or chosen by someone." ["How to Measure Values," *Research Studies,* State College of Washington, 18 (September, 1950), p. 163.] In general, the present author follows Richard T. LaPiere, *A Theory of Social Control,* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1954, pp. 130ff., in defining values as ". . . the obverse of motives . . . the object, quality, or condition that satisfies the motivation."

[6] Edward W. Barrett, *Truth Is Our Weapon,* New York: Funk and Wagnalls Co., 1953, pp. 139–148.

[7] Ralph K. White, *Value Analysis: The Nature and Use of the Method,* Glen Gardner, N. J.: Libertarian Press, 1951.

[8] Robin M. Williams, Jr., *American Society, A Sociological Interpretation,* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951, pp. 372–442.

measuring instrument, the Indian and Filipino subjects later rated it as one of the most interesting pieces of literature to which they were exposed in the larger study. Many subjects requested copies.

The procedure seems to have some advantages as an alternative to more conventional data-gathering methods in a cross-cultural situation. Respondents are saved the embarrassment of telling the interrogator (either orally or in writing) that they do not have an opinion on a given subject or that they do not wish to answer. "No mark" is clearly identified as an appropriate response.

Where it is possible to make the reading material sufficiently interesting, responses are likely to be more spontaneous than they would be with a questionnaire, and they may be more candid. While it is possible that some subjects might become so engrossed in reading that they might fail to mark some units merely through oversight, this problem did not appear in practice with the groups tested. (Most subjects marked most units.) Insofar as the reading material has holding power, it may be possible to cover more ground than could be presented in a questionnaire. Certainly there is something less formidable about *reading* something ten pages in length, than there is in filling out an equally long questionnaire or answering a corresponding number of questions from an interviewer's schedule.

THE RESPONSES

Table 1 shows the "Group Response Index" values for most of the value-impregnated dialogue units for which measures were computed. (There were other, transitional units which were not scored.) The figure, in each case, is the mean value of responses by members of a group to a given dialogue unit, as computed by assigning arbitrary weights of plus one and plus two to single and double plusses, and minus one and minus two to single and double minus marks. No-marks were scored as zeros, as were the small number of ambivalent (plus/minus) responses. The index value for a given dialogue unit therefore has theoretical upper and lower limits of plus and minus two.

There are two dimensions in which one may make comparisons of the data in Table 1. One may compare group approval indices of a given concept or goal, group by group, or he may examine the relative approval given various concepts by a given group. Whatever yardstick is used in a cross-cultural study of this kind, *intragroup* comparisons are presumably more valid than intergroup ones. The yardstick labels (here, agree/disagree) may have subtle meanings for one group which they do not have for another, and the stimuli themselves (the value-laden dialogue elements in English) may have different connotations to different groups to whom English is a second language. However, English is spoken by virtually all educated Filipinos and was the principal language used in the secondary school and University training of the Indian subjects. Since the larger study was structured in terms of pre-testing English-language communication materials, the investigator had screened out a small number of subjects whose English-language vocabulary (as measured by a standardized test and by linguistic performance in other experiments) seemed deficient.

Certain response patterns in Table 1 seem to provide some "face" validation for the procedure. The predominantly Catholic Filipinos were the only group in favor of writing a strong moral code into law and the only group responding unfavorably to an argument in favor of birth control. Similarly, only the Filipinos opposed extension to women of the privilege of smoking on the street. Their approval of technologically oriented education was in keeping with their comments and reactions in discussions of a pamphlet dealing with American industry. Censorship of the mass media was disapproved slightly by the Indians and strongly by the Americans, but won slight approval from the Filipino group.

Enthusiasm for basic education to wipe out illiteracy was strongest among the Indians, whose own country has the greatest problem of this kind, and weakest among the Americans, who are unfamiliar with illiteracy as a real and serious problem. Coeducation was most strongly approved by the Americans and given the weakest endorsement by the Indians.

TABLE 1. RESPONSES OF INDIAN, FILIPINO, AND AMERICAN STUDENT SUBJECTS TO THE CONTENT OF "KOLOMAN"

Content Elements	Indians (N=42)		Filipinos (N=79)		Americans (N=60)	
	$\overline{X}$	σ	$\overline{X}$	σ	$\overline{X}$	σ
Education						
Technical . . . skills . . . to be a success in life . . . technology . . . machinery	.05	1.09	.59	1.15	.08	1.02
Culture, tradition . . . literature, fine arts, history, languages	.55	.95	.66	1.07	.28	1.03
Basic education pro literacy . . . free, compulsory	1.36	.65	1.06	.93	.83	.97
Coeducation	.95	.81	1.10	.83	1.33	.70
Social organization						
A society of equals No inferiors or superiors . . . equal treatment regardless of race, creed . . . or . . . class	1.05	.81	1.22	.89	.54	1.00
Rights of women						
Smoking on streets	.24	1.02	—.29	.98	.35	.73
Strong moral code						
Via legislation	—.21	.77	.52	.73	—.35	.70
Censorship						
Motion pictures	.05	1.15	.71	1.13	—.58	.97
Newspapers, magazines	—.36	1.23	.19	1.33	—1.10	.94
Race relations						
Racial equality . . . equal opportunities, freedoms	1.24	.75	1.49	.74	1.00	.73
No segregation . . . free to attend same schools . . . eat in the same places	1.38	.75	1.49	.67	.88	.80
Kind, friendly, helpful treatment (segregation does not matter)	—.40	1.10	.66	1.08	—.03	1.22
Land ownership						
Private ownership	.44	.84	1.22	.74	.88	.79
Industry						
Heavy industry, mechanization	.58	.80	.37	.84	.19	.72
Handicrafts and farming . . . society . . . each man creates something	—.45	1.00	—.39	1.14	.02	.97
Government ownership	.05	.80	—.57	.87	—.74	.77
Foreign capital	.43	.58	.37	.84	.03	.58
Population control						
Birth control, family planning	1.07	.66	—.52	1.16	.48	1.06
Religion						
Religious freedom . . . no state religion	1.40	.58	1.34	.67	1.32	.67
A single religion . . . Ask minorities to move out or change	—1.43	.73	—1.24	.90	—1.28	.82
Family life						
Maximum personal freedom	.76	.75	.68	.99	.82	.87
Stability . . . each member knows his place . . . what is expected of him	—.24	.84	.24	.96	.42	.76
Government						
Strong central power . . . planning	.98	.67	.95	.88	.37	.87
Economic security to all . . . the prime function of government	.50	1.07	.33	1.08	—.10	.92

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A near-zero mean can result either from apathy (as evidenced by many no-mark responses) or from a division of opinion within a group. The standard deviations index the degree of disagreement resulting in such means. For example, the Americans disagreed on the desirability of "kind, friendly and helpful treatment" *with* racial segregation ($\sigma=1.22$), but were relatively apathetic ($\sigma=.58$) about foreign investment in "Koloman." The Indians' "neutral" group response to censorship of motion pictures ($\sigma=1.15$) reflected more intragroup disagreement than did their near-zero group response to government ownership of industry ($\sigma=.80$).

In general, the group responses of the Indians seemed to reflect a tendency to respond counter to certain traditions of their peoples. The Indian subjects expressed no enthusiasm for an ordered society and indicated they were in favor of a society of equals. (Many of the subjects had already expressed misgivings about the caste system.) They indicated they favored racial equality and religious freedom and were opposed to segregation in schools or eating places. Neither of the other groups was as unreceptive as the Indians to the notion that kind, friendly treatment was what counted—that segregation did not matter. Inasmuch as the Indians were candidly critical of some of the pamphlets and radio broadcasts to which they were exposed in the parent study, the experimenter was inclined to believe that the "Koloman" response patterns reflected the actual feelings of these subjects.

One may of course raise the question of public *vs.* private attitudes at this point; but as George Lundberg has pointed out, ". . . public verbal professions of influential people are obviously of far greater social significance than the fact that privately they may not live up to these professions."[9] Actually, the Indian subjects' responses were consonant with certain observers' impressions concerning the rather young, "westernized" elites of present-day India.[10]

The foreign students constituted reasonably representative samples of Indian and versities. They presumably would be much Filipino students attending American Uniless adequate as samples of Indian and Filipino students in general, and completely inadequate as samples of Indian and Filipino adults. Similarly, the American students were drawn from one social science course at Stanford and did not constitute the equivalent of a random sample of that university's student body.

The purpose of the study, however, was to develop a *procedure* which might be used to measure the responses of representative samples drawn from clearly defined populations. In terms of their role in the larger study, the foreign students constituted a combination of what Klapper and Lowenthal have called the "most like" and qualified judge" type of subject.[11]

Median ages of the Indian, Filipino, and American subjects were (respectively) 23, 24, and 20. Three-fourths of the Americans were undergraduates, whereas three-fourths of the Indians and nearly half the Filipinos were graduate students. Median residence of the Filipinos in the U. S. was one and one-half years, compared with two and one-half years for the Indians. The Filipinos' relatively strong endorsement of technical education is perhaps noteworthy in view of the fact that only 10 per cent of them were majoring in such fields, whereas half of the Indians were taking some kind of technological training. (The Filipinos' principal "majors" were education, commerce, and the humanities.)

The number of content units to which there were sizable ambivalent responses (plus *and* minus) was small, and this was taken as evidence that few of the content elements were confusing. (All three groups were told to make both marks in those

9 "Human Values—A Research Program," *Research Studies*, State College of Washington, 18 (September, 1950), p. 107.

10 *E.g.*, Nirad C. Chaudhuri, "The Western Influence on India," *Atlantic Monthly*, 193 (March,

1954), pp. 70–74. In contrast, see the emphasis in "conformity" in William Stephens Taylor, "Basic Personality in Orthodox Hindu Culture Patterns," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 43 (January, 1948), (pp. 3–12. See also John and Ruth Hill Useem, *The Western-Educated Man in India*, New York: Dryden Press, 1955.

11 Joseph T. Klapper and Leo Lowenthal, "The Contributions of Opinion Research to the Evaluation of Psychological Warfare," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 15 (Winter, 1951–52), pp. 651–662.

instances where they felt they agreed with one idea presented in the paragraph and disagreed with another.)

No content unit was responded to in this way (plus/minus) by more than four of the seventy-nine Filipino subjects, and only two units were marked ambivalently by that many. Only one content unit was so marked by more than two of the forty-two Indian subjects. Six Indian subjects put a plus/minus beside the unit which deals with the possibility of according minority groups "kind, friendly, and helpful treatment" without at the same time segregating them. Apparently the six wanted to express approval of the kind treatment without supporting segregation.

Seven of the sixty Americans made ambivalent responses to a paragraph advocating an education program for "Koloman" which would be centered on the development of technological skills, and eleven made "plus/minus" responses to a dialogue element advocating an educational program emphasizing the humanities. These American subjects, students in an upper division/graduate class in educational sociology, were perhaps "reaching" for some middle ground they did not find in either argument.

THE PAIRED COMPARISONS TEST

The experimenter wondered whether the results he obtained by the "Koloman" technique were to any large extent a function of contextual and sequential influences. Would another method of "asking the same questions" provide a similar rank ordering of concepts? Moreover, were the "national goals" commensurable? In order to obtain a partial answer to this question, seven "national goals" discussed in "Koloman" were presented in paired-comparisons form to seventy-two of the seventy-nine Filipino subjects three weeks after the original test. (The schedule in the larger research program made it impossible to carry out similar paired-comparisons experiments with the Indian and American subjects.)

For the paired-comparison procedure, the experimenter selected seven concepts from "Koloman" which were spread out over the strongly-approved to strongly-disapproved continuum. The following were used: Racial equality, population control, private

ownership of land, a single religion, strong central government, family stability, and technical education. Each subject was provided a list of these topics together with brief quotations to reinstate the meanings which the concepts had in the "Koloman" material the subjects had read three weeks earlier. Paired items, and items within pairs, were presented in an optimum order worked out by R. T. Ross.[12] Use of seven items was arbitrary. This yielded a 21-item test which could be administered in a short period of time.

Instructions called for the respondents to read through the list of national goals and their definitions. They were then to go through the test (with the list of definitions before them) and decide, in each case, which of the paired concepts was more suitable or important as a goal for a country like "Koloman." They were told to be sure to mark one item in each pair, even when it was hard to decide which of the two items was the more important.

The investigator explained that they might occasionally have to choose between two goals, neither of which was approved; in such instances, they were to check the less objectionable one. Subjects kept the definition lists before them as they worked, and none appeared to have any great difficulty making decisions. The definition list is given on page 162.

The correlation between the index values as determined by the arbitrary scoring weights and the scale values derived from the paired-comparisons data by Guilford's "short-cut" method [13] is .90, which when evaluated by "t" test yields a p<.01.[14]

The two procedures resulted in identical ranks for four of the seven national goals:

[12] R. T. Ross, "Optimum Orders for the Presentation of Pairs in the Method of Paired Comparisons," *Journal of Educational Psychology,* 25 (1934), pp. 375–382.

[13] J. P. Guilford, *Psychometric Methods,* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1936, pp. 236ff. For recent evidence that the Guilford "short cut" method yields essentially the same scale distributions as the Thurstone "Case V and Case III" methods, see Sam L. Witryol, "Scaling Procedures Based on the Method of Paired Comparisons," *Journal of Applied Psychology,* 38 (February, 1954), pp. 31–37.

[14] Product-moment *r,* "t" test with df=5, "t"=4.62.

KOLOMAN: A LIST OF GOALS

1. Racial equality — The same opportunities, the same rights, the same freedoms, regardless of color or race . . . No segregation in schools or eating places.

2. Population control — Keep it within bounds . . . by education in birth control and family planning.

3. Privately owned land — Private ownership . . . incentive to produce profit from fruits of own labor.

4. A single religion — We should ask people of minority faiths to move out or change.

5. Strong central government — Planning . . . a central source.

6. Family stability — Tradition . . . Each member knows his own place and knows what is expected of him.

7. Technical education — Skills which enable a man to be a success in life . . . mathematics, science, how to live and work with machinery.

racial equality, population control, a single religion, and technical education.[15]

Kendall's coefficient of agreement for the paired-comparisons data is .342, indicating moderate agreement among the "judges" as to the preferences expressed. This coefficient, when evaluated by Kendall's suggested chi-square procedure,[16] yields a x^2 of 547 (with df=22), which is far beyond all ordinary significance levels. What agreement there was, in other words, could not have occurred by chance.

Of considerable consequence, apart from the degree of agreement, is the question of how *consistently* subjects were able to make choices among the value-concepts or goals presented in the paired-comparisons test. That is, did the choices form "rational preference rankings?"[17] If A was preferred to B, and B to C, was A then preferred to C? If not, (that is, if C was preferred to A), these choices constituted "circular triads," and it could be argued that the value concepts or national goals which were rated were incommensurable. Moreover, if they were incommensurable as evaluated by the paired-comparisons technique, they also would be incommensurable as measured by the simple index derived from the marginal markings.

The present inquiry was given some impetus by a recent study by Catton, who found empirical evidence that "human values, including those . . . regarded by certain authorities as being of infinite worth, become measurable relative to each other in exactly the same manner as other verbal stimuli—by application of Thurstone's law of comparative judgment."[18] The present investigator decided to determine the number

TABLE 2. DISTRIBUTION OF CIRCULAR TRIADS IN RESPONSES OF 72 FILIPINO SUBJECTS TO "KOLOMAN" NATIONAL GOALS PRESENTED IN PAIRED COMPARISONS

Number of Circular Triads	Frequency (N=72)	Coefficient of Consistence
0	29	1.000
1	15	.929
2	12	.857
3	6	.786
4	2	.714
5	4	.643
6	2	.571
7	2	.500

of circular triads for his subjects and compute from those totals the coefficients of consistence.

Table 2 shows the frequency distribution of circular triads for the seventy-two subjects, and the coefficient of consistence associated with each. The reader will note that twenty-nine subjects had "perfect records" — they made no inconsistent choices—and the records of the others were

[15] Spearman's rho for the two sets of ranks is .75, significant at the .05 level. [M. G. Kendall, *Rank Correlation Methods,* London: Charles Griffin, 1948, Appendix Table 2].

[16] Kendall, *op. cit.,* pp. 129–30.

[17] Donald Davidson, J. C. C. McKinsey, and Patrick Suppes, *Outlines of a Formal Theory of Value,* I, Stanford University: Stanford Value Theory Project, Report No. 1, February, 1954.

[18] William R. Catton, Jr., "Exploring Techniques for Measuring Human Values," *American Sociological Review,* 19 (February, 1954), pp. 49–55.

generally good. If the "national goals" which were rated had been incommensurable, and ratings had been allotted at random, more than half of the subjects (58 per cent) would have been responsible for nine or more circular triads apiece [19]

It would appear, in short, that the qualitative dissimilarities in the national goals which were evaluated by the Filipino subjects did not in general prevent their being ranked rationally and consistently by the subjects. Moreover, the findings obtained by the "Koloman" marking procedure were correlated .90 with results obtained by the method of paired-comparisons, which is essentially free from contextual and sequential influences. Although the subjects were the same in both tests, they had undergone many intervening communication experiences, including the testing of a variety of printed materials and radio program content during the three-week interval between the two tests.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

A variant of the marking procedure used in the author's "Content Response Code" communication pre-testing procedure was employed in a test in which American, Filipino, and Indian subjects indicated their approval or disapproval of certain national goals for a mythical new country called "Koloman."

The reading task posed by this procedure was considerably less formidable than a questionnaire which covered as much ground would be. Moreover, respondents were free to mark or not mark individual units as they wished, and not marking was one of the standard modes of response. Thus subjects were not confronted with the necessity of giving a "don't know," "no opinion," or refusal response which might have proved embarrassing.

Presumably the method would be workable only with a literate group of subjects with some background of exposure to and interest in social, political, and economic issues. Most information program target groups, insofar as they are made up largely of elites or "influentials," would meet this criterion.

In the present study a considerable body of data was accumulated concerning the expressed beliefs of the subjects. There were indications that these data were acquired under conditions of greater interest and motivation than were present in other test situations involving the same subjects.

The findings concerning the Indians were especially interesting in view of the group's apparent approval of western values. Hans Speier and others have suggested the desirability of a study *in India* of "the intelligentsia's predispositions toward such values as work and wealth, freedom and progress," in view of the possibility that "in India perhaps more than in the West, intellectuals play a major role in influencing political decisions." [20] Charles Morris has reported on a study in which Indian, American, Japanese, and Chinese students rated various ways of life. The life ideal preferences of the Indian men were similar to those of the Americans. [21]

As F. S. C. Northrop has pointed out, "What one people or culture regard as sound economic and political principles, the other views as erroneous, and what one envisages as good and devine the other condemns as evil or illusory." [22] A device like "Koloman" might prove to be a fairly painless instrument for investigating such differences in belief.

Results of the paired-comparisons experiment suggested (1) that the Filipinos' responses to "Koloman" probably were not greatly affected by contextual and sequential influences, and (2) that the Filipino subjects were able to make rational (*i.e.*, consistent) choices among national goals which subjectively might appear to be incommensurable.

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[20] "Research in International Communication: An Advisory Report of the Planning Committee," Hans Speier, chairman, Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Center for International Studies, June, 1953, duplicated.

[21] Charles Morris, "Comparative Strength of Life-Ideals in Eastern and Western Cultures," in *Essays in East-West Philosophy*, edited by Charles A. Moore, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1951.

[22] F. S. C. Northrop, *The Meeting of East and West: An Inquiry Concerning World Understanding*, New York: Macmillan Co., 1946, p. ix.

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[19] Kendall, *op. cit.*, Appendix Table 9.

SITUATIONAL PATTERNING IN INTERGROUP RELATIONS *

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THERE is now abundant research evidence of situational variability in intergroup behavior: an ever-accumulating body of research demonstrates that allegedly prejudiced persons act in a thoroughly egalitarian manner in situations where that is the socially prescribed mode of behavior, and that allegedly unprejudiced persons discriminate in situations where they feel it is socially appropriate to do so.[1] It is also well known that patterns of "appropriateness" in intergroup behavior have been changing with increasing tempo in recent years. The unthinkable of a short time ago has in many areas of life become the commonplace of today. For a brief period the transition from unthinkable to commonplace arouses extreme emotional fervor; but as the new definition of the situation becomes the socially prescribed, the fervor soon diminishes. What was for the moment an "unpatterned" situation becomes, in Karl Mannheim's terms, "built into the framework of the society." [2]

Unpatterned situations, in which definitions of appropriate conduct are in process of change, occur infrequently, and it is even more infrequent that they occur at the convenience of the research observer. Yet their importance for social change is likely to be great. In the multitude of unambiguous, patterned situations we have the raw material for documenting existing patterns of intergroup behavior. In the relatively rare unpatterned situations, however, we may hope to find important information concerning social change. It appears, for instance, that one of the most basic changes in race relations in the South is the growing uncertainty of all concerned about what is appropriate, "proper" intergroup behavior. This, along with the decreased personal interaction between whites and Negroes (especially middle- and upper-class Negroes), is compounded with the relative impersonality of the new urban South, to create an unprecedented situation in which further changes can occur with a rapidity that would have been thought impossible only a few years ago.

The social scientist who wishes to study the processes by which unpatterned situations come to be defined by their participants is faced with several major problems, not the least of which is the difficulty of finding situations that can be studied systematically. It is not sufficient to create hypothetical situations and to ask people how they think they would behave in them. People's responses to hypothetical situations are patterned in the same way as ordinary opinion-items—for example, they can be ordered into unidimensional scales. But behavior studied in actual intergroup situations has not proven scalable; such behavior encom-

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[1] We shall define a situation as a series of interactions, located in space and time, and perceived by the participants as an *event*: in this usage "situation" is a delimiting term, cutting out from the flow of experience a particular series of inter-personal actions which are seen by the participants as a describable event, separable from preceding and succeeding events, constraining the participants to act in particular ways, and having its own unique consequences.

[2] "Although situations are in their very nature dynamic and unique, as soon as they become socialized—that is to say, built into the framework of society—they tend to become standardized to a certain extent. Thus we must distinguish between what is called patterned and unpatterned situations." [Karl Mannheim, *Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction*, (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, and Co., 1940), p. 301.]

passes factors idiosyncratic to the particular situation, that cannot be foreseen by the person asked to predict his probable behavior.

Since hypothetical situations are not adequate, and actual unpatterned situations occur but rarely, the research worker is left with little choice but to initiate new situations. The procedure must be covert, for if the participants knew that the situations were created for research purposes, their definitions would be radically altered. Many problems are necessarily created, on both ethical and practical levels: the procedure involves a degree of manipulation; it poses a degree of danger to the participant observers and perhaps to other participants as well; it creates barriers to observation and interviewing. In the absence of preferable alternatives, however, we felt justified in initiating a series of forty-three situations in which we could observe and interview in a reasonably systematic fashion.

These situations were initiated in social contexts that were neither so intimate as automatically to exclude Negro participation, nor so functionally specific as to make acceptance of Negroes unproblematic. In particular, we focused on service establishments, such as restaurants and taverns. In white neighborhoods infrequently visited by Negroes, for example, we found many restaurant and tavern managers who had never faced a situation where it was necessary to decide whether or not to serve Negro patrons. Frequently the manager, when confronted by a Negro customer, was caught in a serious dilemma. On the one hand, it is illegal in the communities studied to refuse to serve Negroes. On the other hand, these establishments are often informal neighborhood social centers, and the managers' fears that their customers would object to the presence of Negroes militate against serving. For the manager who has no already established policy, this can be a highly problematic situation.

Within the restricted area in which it was possible to initiate situations—in public service establishments, voluntary organizations, and the like—we attempted to vary the situational conditions to the maximum degree possible. Even so, it must be recognized that our conclusions are based on studies in a very limited range of social institutions; e.g., we could not initiate new situations in industrial organizations or in schools. Thus we cannot assert that the present findings are directly applicable to institutions outside of the range studied. It seems probable, however, that though the processes by which unpatterned situations arise in these institutions are different from those of the present research, the processes by which they come to be defined by participants are similar.

PROCEDURE

Before initiating a situation, we attempted to assess the usual patterns of behavior in the particular setting. The formality of our procedure depended on the social context: in formal organizations we were able to attend meetings, and to interview leaders and a sample of the membership; in service establishments we could only visit frequently enough to establish informal relationships with the staff and a few steady customers. Only after we felt we had some basis for predicting their probable reception, did we introduce Negro "stimulus-participants." White observers, located at strategic positions, observed the reactions of the principal participants.

Immediately after the Negroes withdrew from the scene, these "stimulus-participants" recorded the chronological sequence of events, and in addition filled out recording forms that had been designed to elicit their interpretations of the events. The white observers remained behind long enough to observe after-the-fact reactions, and then recorded their observations and interpretations in similar fashion. Thus we were able to secure the definitions held by non-participant observers and by Negro participants, as well as data on the overt behavior that occurred. In most cases we were also able to secure retrospective reports from white participants (organizational leaders, bartenders, customers) by formal interviewing procedures.

As an example of the procedure followed, let us consider one of these situations in some detail. A Negro couple (members of the research staff) entered a working-class tavern that was believed to discriminate. White observers, some of whom had visited the establishment frequently enough to be

able to ask questions without arousing undue suspicion, were seated at strategic spots throughout the tavern. The following are the chronological accounts written by one of the Negro "stimulus participants" and one of the white observers:

The Report of the "Stimulus-Participant"

Entered at 10:15. People looked around, but we strode dauntlessly to table near fire. Most people seemed to look around, notice us, and comment. I needed a match and went to the couple in the first booth. The fellow had a lighter. I asked for a light. He replied eagerly, "Yes sir," and flicked his lighter for me. Testing the afternoon hunch on restrooms, I went to the men's room. As I passed the lady's room, the bartender blocked my way.

Bartender: "What did you say?"

Reseacher: "How do you do. I didn't say anything. I'm looking for the men's room."

Bartender: "I'll show you." He leads me to the men's room, stands at the next urinal in a grand rapport gesture, and says confidently, "Now, mind you, I don't have anything against you people. I went to school with you folks and I've got a lot of friends among you. But some of my customers don't like to see you in here. Five or six of them have already complained to me and left. Now I can't have that. I hope you'll understand if I ask you to leave."

Researcher: "It's pretty hard to understand. I went to war for these people."

Bartender: "Yeah, I went to war too. But some of our people are funny. They don't like to see you in here. So I'll have to ask you to go." He leaves, and another young Caucasian enters. I am pretty damn upset.

I: "I suppose you're one of these fine people who wants me to leave."

He: "No, no, everybody's all right with me. What's the matter, you have some trouble?"
I: "You're damned tootin!" I go back to the table. Several people are entering and leaving for no apparent connected reason. No one comes to wait on us. Ten minutes later I go to the cigarette machine.

Bartender (stops me again): "Say, are you going to leave or are we going to have some trouble? Some of the boys are pretty hot. Now I suggest that you get out of here before something happens. We don't want your kind. Remember, I've told you." I go back to the table. L (the Negro girl) is enthusiastic. The waitress comes near to clean off a table and L calls her three times.

Waitress tosses her head and leaves. Band returns from intermission and begins to play. After about five danceless numbers, three couples move out on floor. We go to dance. Here comes bartender again.

Bartender: "Now look, I've told you three times. War or no war, now you get out of here. We don't want you. I've got my customers to think of. Come on, get off the floor and get out of here before you have trouble."

I ask him to call the cops if there's trouble, but he demurs and shoves us off dance floor. We leave. Must have been a great side-show to the white customers and observers, but I'm boiling so much I could kill every white face. Decide I'm through with this stunt. As we left, a fellow standing in front of the cigarette machine said, "Hell, we're all Americans. I'm all for you." Bartender was just behind us, shepherding us out, and he stopped and asked, "What did you say?" I didn't hear the rest, but the fellow was evidently championing us in a weak but determined way. Maybe there is some hope for some white folks.

The Report of One of the White Observers

I arrived to find the bar crowded. D and J (observers) arrived, went through barroom to dancehall, just as I was climbing on a recently-vacated stool at the bar. Proprietor was serving a tray of drinks to blonde waitress. The bartender was standing akimbo at north end of the bar, waiting for electric mixer to finish stirring drink for him. Door opened, Negro researchers walked in, going through barroom and into hallway to dance floor. Blonde looked around at them, staring, then looked back at proprietor with her mouth open.

Proprietor (amazed): "Well, how do you like that!"

Bartender (turning): "What?"

Proprietor and Blonde (simultaneously): "Those two jigs that just walked through here." "Two colored people just went in."

Bartender (in surprise): "Where'd they go?"

Blonde: "Into the dance hall."
Enter Jane, a second waitress, from kitchen.
Jane: "I'm not going in there. What can we do? This never happened before. (To proprietor) "What'll we do? (Anguished) Do I *have* to serve them?"

Proprietor (peering through service peephole from bar to dance floor): "Let 'em sit."

Bartender: "Yes, stay away from them. I didn't see them. Where'd they go?"

Blonde: "They're at the table for six. What are we going to do?"

Jane: "I'm not going in there. This is awful."

Proprietor ducks under the lift-up gate at the end of the bar, takes a quick look into dance hall, then back under the gate board to his station behind the bar.

Proprietor: "Just let them sit." For the next several minutes, the proprietor inquired anxiously, from time to time, "What are they doing now? Did they go?" Each time he looked more amazed. Said to me, "Never in my time here did we have any of them at the bar." After a wait of perhaps 15 to 18 minutes:

Proprietor: "Well, I'm going to see that they leave." He took off apron, started to duck under the bar gate again, then said to bartender: "You better go in and get them out of there. I don't think I should go, because my name's on the license . . . if there's any trouble."

Schoolteacher (sitting with husband at the bar): "How can you get them to leave? (then to me) She was an attractive little thing, wasn't she?"

Proprietor (again): "I wish they'd go. (Then to blonde waitress) Are any of your customers leaving?"

Blonde: "A couple, but I think they were leaving anyway. They'd asked for their check. Others are looking around at them, and they're all talking about it . . . it gives me the creeps to have to walk in there, and know they're staring at me, expecting me to come over and wait on them."

Jane (to me): "We never had colored people here. This is the first couple that ever went in there. (Shrugging) I'm just not going in. What a time they picked to come! Saturday night—our busiest time! Why didn't they make it some week night?—there aren't so many people here."

By this time the bartender had taken off his apron, left the barroom, and a few minutes later returned and went directly into the men's room, followed by the Negro researcher.

Proprietor (after a minute or so): "Where did the bartender go?"

Jane: "In the men's room."

Teacher: "They've been in there quite a while."

Proprietor (ducking under gate, apron and all): "I'd better see what's going on. He may have a knife." Goes and peers through four inch opening, as he holds the door ajar. Returns. "They're o.k." Bartender returned to bar, researcher to the dance hall.

Bartender: "He wanted to give me an argument. Said he was a veteran."

Proprietor: "They all have something like that to say, I guess. I want them to get out. What did he say?"

Bartender: "He said yes."

I (turning to man on stool beside me): "This is some situation, isn't it?"

Man (venomously): "It stinks!"

Blonde (watching Negroes through doorway): "He's sitting down. It's a good thing the orchestra is having intermission."

Proprietor: "Yes, I suppose they'd be dancing."

Bartender: "That looks like that Robeson stuff."

Waitress: "I can't think of any time I've seen colored people in here."

Bartender: "Stay away from them. Don't look at them. Don't let them catch your eye." Waitress departs for dance hall again.

Youth (at bar, to proprietor): "Maybe you can get a date." Proprietor snorted, ready to blow his top.

Teacher: "He's getting cigarettes."

Bartender: "Where is he?"

Jane: "At the cigarette machine."

Bartender (apron and all, under the bar gate again): "I'll tell him to get going." Went and spoke to researcher, then back to bar. "They'll leave, I think. I told him there were a couple of fellows were going to see about it, if they didn't." Just about this time the orchestra's intermission was over; they returned to the bandstand.

Proprietor: "There goes the band. I suppose they'll start to dance now. I wish I'd thought to hold up the orchestra until they got out of here. (To blonde) Watch them now. (To Jane) Jane, get me a sandwich, will you?"

Teacher: "You're in a tough spot, aren't you? Are you going to serve them?"

Proprietor: "No."

Bartender: "We'll have to put them out for causing a disturbance."

Blonde: "Four of my couples have left."

Proprietor: "That does it! Go in and get them out of there, NOW!"

Bartender went into dancehall, one man followed him, and three or four other men gathered around. The Negro researchers walked out through the bar. Bartender went back behind the bar and the man resumed his seat.

Proprietor (who had followed, with his eyes, the Negro girl as she left): "Did you see the cute little smile she had on?"

Bartender: "Well, that buck thinks he's tough, I guess. Robeson stuff."

Customer: "You could have served them. They got rights!"

Bartender: "You want to make something of it? Are you with them?"

Customer: "No, I'm not with them. They got a right to have a drink. You all stink."

Bartender (threateningly): "Pick up your change and drift. You want to drink with them? Go on down to the C.D. bar. Lots of them there." Man picked up his change and stalked to door, mumbling.

Proprietor: "What the hell do you suppose is the matter with him? He's not drunk."

Teacher: "Maybe he's one of those people who has Negro friends."

Another customer: "In Germany those black bastards got everything they wanted. Excuse me, ma'm. (To teacher) Two or three of them would come along and take a white soldier's girl right away from him. I hate their guts. They want to stay away from me. I just wish you'd told me, I could have thrown them out. . . ."

Proprietor: "You can if they come back. You can throw out their whole gang. They've probably gone to get the bunch. I don't think they came in just to get a drink."

Teacher's husband: "No, I think they came here deliberately to get served or make trouble. If they dropped in for a drink, they would have left when the bartender talked to him. I think this must be planned somehow."

Bartender: "Yeah, Robeson stuff. Spooks! Little Peekskill, they wanted to make out of this place."

Teacher: "I feel sorry for them. (To me) She looked like a real nice girl. I have to teach my children tolerance and things like that. . . ."

DEFINING UNPATTERNED SITUATIONS

In these situations, it appeared that the participants attempted to achieve cognitive clarity by striving to assimilate the situation to their past actual or vicarious experience, that is, to categorize it as one of a type of situation with which they knew how to cope. The process, of course, was rarely as rational or as purposive as this formulation would imply. Yet the behavior manifested in these situations can be interpreted as an attempt to see a socially unstructured situation in terms of one or possibly even of several alternative socially acceptable structures. For example, in the illustration above, the bartender and waitress perceived the situation as one that could be categorized in either of two ways:

1. Here are two Negro out-of-towners who do not realize they are not welcome here.
2. Here are a couple of troublemakers who are trying to create another Peekskill riot here.

The importance of being able to categorize the situation is suggested by their dilemma. If the situation were the first type, they could expect the Negroes to leave when asked politely. If the situation were the second type, they could expect resistance to such a request—the Negroes might cause an immediate disturbance, "come back with their gang," or file suit for violation of the State Civil Rights Statute.

In this example two reasonably clear-cut alternative definitions of the situation were possible. At the extreme, even this degree of structure was missing. Here participants reacted by confusion: either the situation was so totally outside the range of their experience, or it partook of so wide a variety of possible definitions, that these participants were initially unable to see any structure to the situation at all.

It seems useful to distinguish these two possible reactions to an unpatterned situation. In one, the individual is confused about what behavior to expect from others and what is appropriate action to take himself. In the other, he has reasonably definite, but contradictory, expectations of how others will act and how he himself should act. These two types of reaction differ in degree only, and it is difficult to distinguish them in some concrete situations. Nevertheless, the distinction is useful because the probable future actions of the person whose orientation is primarily marked by *confusion* are different from the probable future actions of the person whose orientation is primarily marked by *contradiction.*[3]

In the situations studied, the participants who were primarily *confused* actively sought cues from others' behavior that could be useful in clarifying their own definitions of the situation. Where formal leadership roles

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[3] We are at the moment concerned only with situations where the individual participants are initially unable to achieve consistent workable definitions of the situation. Situations where two or more participants have *different* definitions of the situation will be considered later. In this latter case each participant has a consistent definition, and the problem is how definitions are *modified,* rather than how unstructured situations become defined.

existed, other participants turned to the presumed leaders for clarification. Members of organizations almost invariably took their cues from the presiding officers—if the club president greeted a Negro lecturer warmly, the members were likely to listen to his speech attentively. Similarly, waitresses and bartenders studied the reactions of owners and managers for hints as to whether or not service to Negro patrons was in order.

But in the nature of the case it most often happened that the people in leadership positions were themselves confused; for them the situation was not structured enough even to suggest where to turn for clarification. In consequence, action on the part of *any* participant became disproportionately important in determining their definitions. Expressions of discomfiture on the part of *any* customer were taken as an index that "the customers" objected to the presence of Negroes. Direct intervention on the part of a customer almost invariably proved decisive. If any white undertook to act as intermediary for a Negro patron, by ordering a drink for him, or buying him a drink, the bartender served the Negro. Even if the white were a disheveled drunk with a friendliness born of liquor, the bartender was likely to take his action as an index that the customers did not object to his serving Negroes. The possibility that the drunk's attitudes were atypical of the attitudes of other customers was for the moment ignored.

Initial behavioral cues, of course, could be variously interpreted. The cues themselves were often ambiguous, allowing of several alternative interpretations even to similarly-situated persons. Furthermore, some persons seemed to be more sensitive to nuances of behavior than were others, for reasons that did not seem related to their roles in the situation. However, the most important factor in how participants interpreted behavioral cues appeared rather clearly to be their prestige-status in the situation. Negro participants were typically far less secure in these situations than were whites. They were more likely to be sensitive to minimal cues, and to interpret cues as indices of prejudice or lack of prejudice. A casual reference by a white to "you people" was frequently taken by Negro participants as an indication that the white was categorizing them as Negroes,

and was therefore prejudiced. The white would have no idea that his statement—often made in the form of a testimonial meant to communicate good will—was so interpreted.

Finally, in some situations there were almost literally no appropriate behavioral cues to guide the confused participant. A white woman who taught a theatrical make-up class was thrown into a flurry of aimless excitement for almost ten minutes when a Negro girl who unexpectedly attended the practice session of her class asked her for an appropriate shade of face powder. She knew which shade would be best, but she had no idea of how to react to having a Negro girl attend the class. The reactions of the other members of the class did not help to resolve her confusion, and there were no other adults present. The consequence was that she persisted in her confusion for several minutes.

These interpretations apply only when the impediment to a satisfactory definition of the situation is confusion or ambiguity. Where the problem is that two alternative definitions are applicable to the situation (i.e., where the problem is one of *contradiction* or *conflict*), different behavioral consequences ensue. Usually, in such situations, it is possible to resolve the conflict by *exempting* the particular situation from all but one definition—in effect, by assigning one definition of the situation a higher priority than that accorded to the others. Two forms of exemption were apparent in the observed situations:

1. A particular *type of event* can be exempted from a more general definition: for example, a restaurant-owner, who in other contexts does not discriminate against Negroes, does discriminate against them in his restaurant because he feels that "business" takes precedence over other values.

2. A particular *individual* can be exempted in a range of situations: for example, a white treats a particular Negro as "different from other Negroes" and therefore acceptable in contexts where other Negroes would be unwelcome. One bar-owner served former high school classmates, although he refused to serve other Negroes.[4]

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[4] Calling this behavior exemption does not necessarily mean that the bar-owner perceived his action as making an exception of these particular Negroes; he might have seen it simply as serving

On occasion, however, neither of the alternative definitions can be avoided—the situation constrains the participants to act on the basis of both definitions simultaneously. For example, at a dinner-meeting tendered to party workers of a major political party, many of the white participants wished to avoid eating with the Negro party-workers, but at the same time did not wish to rebuff them and risk losing Negro votes. Their common mode of behavior was to act in a friendly fashion toward these Negroes, but not to sit at the same tables with them. When all other tables were fully occupied, some of the whites waited for new tables to be set up, rather than sitting at tables already partly occupied by Negroes. This we interpret to be a common mode of behavior by which the whites attempted to act in partial conformity to both definitions of the situation—the definition that this was a solidary group of party members, and the definition that this was an inter-racial situation. They had to eat at tables adjoining the tables at which Negroes were seated, but they did not have to eat with Negroes. Although they rebuffed these Negroes, they did not entirely alienate them. It appears that when an individual is constrained to act on the basis of two or more mutually incompatible definitions of the situation, he will seek a compromise solution by which he deviates as little as possible from the action appropriate to each of these definitions.

Finally, there are situations in which the alternative definitions cannot be reconciled. For example, the dilemma of the bartender who does not know whether or not to serve Negroes and feels: if I serve them, the white customers will object; if I don't, they may create a disturbance. In such a situation, the typical response is withdrawal from the situation, as when the bartender "looks the other way" or the prejudiced club-member leaves upon discovering that the lecturer of the evening is Negro. But withdrawal is not always possible. The bartender may "look the other way" when a Negro patron enters, but he cannot continue to do so when the

Negro walks up to the bar directly in front of him. Then the result is usually an inconsistent series of actions, marked by a good deal of wavering. The bartender may begin to serve the Negro quite cordially, then appears to be unwilling to serve the Negro, then once again is quite cordial. If an observer asks him about it, he will be quite frank in stating that he feels impelled first towards one course of behavior, then towards the other. This inconsistent behavior may perseverate for an extraordinarily long time, until the individual is finally able (often for apparently irrelevant reasons) to give one or the other definition a higher priority.

MODIFICATION OF DEFINITIONS

Although these covertly-initiated situations enabled us to study the processes by which unpatterned situations are initially defined, they did not provide adequate data on the processes by which initial definitions are modified in interaction. The very conditions required for initiating unpatterned situations precluded our continued observation once the single event had transpired. To study the processes of change, it was necessary to find naturally-occurring situations, or series of situations, in which changes of definition were taking place. We wanted to be able to observe a group of people engaged in a continuing series of situations; to interview these people at regular intervals, in order to elicit their interpretations of each situation; and to secure data about their behavior in past situations that might prove useful in interpreting their present behavior. Our procedure was to search for a group that had formed in response to a particular problem in which all were interested. We found the group we sought engaged in a rather dramatic endeavor—a civil rights law suit.

Two Negro men had been refused service in a country tavern, in the presence of Negro waiters. The men left the tavern quietly in spite of the fact that one of the waiters quit his job in protest. Two days later, the wife of one of these men telephoned the president of the local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, who in turn suggested that the men re-visit the tavern in the company of the executive committee of the NAACP

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friends. Nevertheless the *effect* of his action is exemption, whether he consciously perceives it that way or not, because from the observer's point of view he is acting differently from the way he would act toward other Negroes.

chapter.[5] A first visit was, from their point of view, ineffectual: the proprietor was absent, and his son equivocated. A second trip found the proprietor prepared. After protesting his own lack of prejudice, he argued that he could not risk a boycott by white customers. When this argument fell on unresponsive ears—the NAACP president waved a copy of the State Anti-Discrimination Statute in his face—he argued that he didn't care what the law said, he simply was not going to serve Negroes. Then ensued a long debate on whether or not minority groups should insist on service where they were not wanted, ending in an impasse.

The NAACP leaders attempted, without success, to interest the local district attorney in taking court action. Then, with tacit approval by the prospective plaintiffs, they established contact with the state NAACP legal department. Initial plans for court action were made, followed by a delay of several months before the case was tried. The period of quiessence was marked by the plaintiffs' loss of interest in the case.

The weekend preceding the case brought feverish activity on the part of the NAACP lawyer and two members of the executive committee, first in questioning witnesses, and later in detailed "cross-examination" of one waiter who reported that he would testify for the defense. Other members of the executive committee, the second waiter, and another participant-observer were brought in during the last stages of this examination—at a time of open conflict, with the lawyer and NAACP president accusing the dissident waiter of "selling out the race." The incident ended in excited denunciation of the "turncoat" by the waiter who had quit his job in protest against discrimination.

To this point, the plaintiffs had not participated. They, and their wives, joined the group at a meeting that evening, called to plan strategy for the trial. The first order of business was a dramatic account of the afternoon's activities. Then the lawyer interrupted abruptly to ask for his clients' minimum demands. He added that cash

settlements generally weren't very high in this type of case. The plaintiffs said nothing. But the president jumped in to aver that "these men aren't in this for cash. They're in it for the principle of the thing!" He paid tribute to "men who have the guts to stick it out." A member of the executive committee spoke about the effects that this case would have on the Negro community generally. Others spoke *for* the plaintiffs. One asked that the men be given a chance to speak for themselves—but he too congratulated them "for having the courage to go through with the case *for the principle of it!*"

The lawyer asked the plaintiffs directly: "How do you feel about this?" A long silence. Then one plaintiff answered. He said that he and his friend were fighting for the good of the race. He said that he hoped this action would benefit the Negro community as a whole. He said that he believed in *action* to improve the position of Negroes. He added that he was a poor man.

At once the president exclaimed that he too was a poor man, but that even if it meant losing his job, he would stick it through. There was no further ambiguity about money. The lawyer congratulated the plaintiffs for not seeking monetary retribution, and then asked the group as a whole for a statement of minimal demands. Almost all members of the group spoke up now, including the heretofore-silent plaintiffs and their wives. All agreed to a policy enunciated by the president: the demands were to be a full public apology, together with a statement by the proprietor that he would not discriminate in the future.

Succeeding events need not be described in detail here. The defendant, upon pressure from the judge, settled the case in court on the plaintiffs' terms.

For present purposes, the most striking aspect of this series of events was the radical change in the behavior of the plaintiffs. Their behavior in the discriminatory situation had been passive; upon their return to the community they did nothing to institute action against the bar-owner. Personality studies of the two men, based on detailed life history data, indicate that this passive acceptance of the intergroup relations status-quo was entirely in keeping with their be-

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[5] Robert B. Johnson, a member of the Cornell research staff, attended these conferences in his role as a member of the NAACP executive committee. Johnson, and others of us who were involved in later situations, filled out detailed research reports after each period of observation.

havior in other situations. In fact, they had but a few weeks before this incident predicted (in response to a questionnaire-interview administered to a cross-section of the Negro community) that in such a situation they would leave the establishment without saying anything, and take no further action. Yet in the course of these situations the positive or negative evaluation of their behavior by a militant group of Negro leaders became important to their own evaluations of their behavior; their self-conceptions changed to those of "race men," or fighters for the good of the Negro community; their definitions of the discriminatory incident and of their own subsequent behavior were enlarged to include an evaluation of how these actions affected other Negroes in the city; and their passive behavior was transformed into militancy.

In broadest outline, this change can be viewed as the consequence of a long series of successive redefinitions of the situations in which they participated. When the bartender refused to serve them, they quickly developed an initial definition on the basis of which they hurriedly left the tavern. Their definition of this original situation held important consequences for their behavior in subsequent situations. Although each of these, too, contained idiosyncratic elements, there was a significant degree of continuity in their definitions of succeeding situations. The plaintiffs did not define each situation anew, solely on the basis of its idiosyncratic elements, but developed their definitions of particular situations from their definitions of preceding situations. It was as if they tried on their previous definitions for fit, modified them to meet the exigencies of the present, then modified them anew as these exigencies changed. Since new elements entered these situations almost continuously, this process never ceased. In the end, a revolution in definition and in behavior had been produced. But seen as a step-by-step process, this "revolution" was never more than a minor change in a preceding definition, with its appropriate behavioral consequences.[6]

[6] On the basis of one case study, we certainly cannot generalize that this is always the process. One observation can, however, be made: in none of the situations studied (either in this series, or in the situations we initiated for our study of un-

The most readily apparent change in the plaintiffs' orientation was their coming to depend upon the NAACP leaders as referents.[7] But why did the NAACP come to play this role?

It would seem that the plaintiffs must have been predisposed, at least to a limited degree, to see the NAACP definition of the situation as legitimate—even if not the only legitimate definition. It seems further that they must have felt constrained to co-operate with the NAACP leaders, provided that this did not entail a major commitment of time. Otherwise, the president could not have prevailed on them to participate even to the extent of a discussion with the tavern proprietor. Once they were involved in the NAACP activities, several factors conspired to commit them more and more firmly to the NAACP group: the NAACP leaders could and did shame them by holding out the threat that they would be regarded by the community as "quitters"; at the same time, these leaders were able to argue the logic of their philosophy, and to demonstrate by their own action how their philosophy worked in practice; continued group enterprise brought the emotional satisfactions of group *esprit de corps* and of participation in "something important"; finally the plaintiffs' behavior brought approbation from some other members of the Negro community.

At the same time, other pressures generated by the situations served to bring the plaintiffs' definitions into harmony with that

patterned situations) did direct and overt conflict bring about a change of definition. Wherever two participants with opposing definitions attempted to argue each other into changing their definitions, an impasse resulted. In fact, overt conflict served only to strengthen the participants' commitment to their original positions. Of course, a participant was on occasion forced to accede to another's demands; but this brought no lasting change in definition, merely resentful compliance.

[7] For purposes of analysis and prediction, it is not necessary that the individual actor be aware of the role his referents play in defining the situation. "Reference group" may be used as an intervening variable in situational analysis if this provides a more adequate explanation of behavior than do alternative methods of analysis. (We may posit that an individual acts *as if* he used certain referents in defining the situation.) In the present research, however, this was not necessary: the plaintiffs came to be very much aware of the major role played by the NAACP leaders in their definitions of the situations.

of the NAACP leaders. Perhaps the most important event here was the "cross-examination" of the dissident waiter. The NAACP leaders could not have asked for a more compelling demonstration that the point at issue was a moral principle, with all other considerations irrelevant. A clear dichotomy was drawn between those who "sell out the race" and those who "fight for the race." If the dissident waiter stood as the symbol of selling out, his courageous colleague embodied the virtues of the man of principle. In the face of his sacrifice of his job, who could undertake to do less?

Even then, the plaintiffs were not fully committed. Interviews with the major participants indicate that the men hoped to be able to fight for the race and exact some monetary retribution as well. But this was exactly what the NAACP leaders wished to avoid; they did not want it said that the case was merely a matter of Negroes "trying to con a white man out of his money." It had to be a matter of principle, and principle alone! Here the introduction of new information enabled the plaintiffs to redefine the situation: if cash awards were generally not very high in these cases, it was considerably easier to forego the possibility of a windfall. Even so, foregoing cash was not easy. It took some time for a plaintiff to make the offer, and even then his offer was hardly forthright. His statement did, however, allow of slight reinterpretation; once this occurred, the men were hardly in a position to backtrack.

For the plaintiffs, acceptance of the NAACP position brought a change in self-conception: they now thought of themselves as "race men." It also brought a rewriting of history, to bring all past events into line with their present definition. If you ask them now, they will tell you that their orientation has not changed. They are, and always have been, militant. From the very beginning, their one interest has been to fight discrimination. That is why they were so quick to bring the NAACP into the case.

In spite of this, their change in self-conception has not been productive of other militant action. Although they may continue to think of themselves as "race men," and although they may behave like "race men" in any future situation in which they are directly refused service, they have given

no evidence that they are likely to carry out the logical implications of the "race man" role and engage in a wider range of interracial activities on behalf of the Negro community. Stated otherwise, it would appear that an individual who uses a particular reference group in defining a particular type of situation will not necessarily use that reference group in defining other types of situations. This is perfectly consistent with the general observation that people do not necessarily behave consistently in different types of situations.

SUMMARY

We have in this report endeavored to interpret the processes by which participants define unpatterned intergroup situations, and the processes by which definitions are in turn modified over the course of time. We recognize that the research has been conducted within a very limited range of institutional contexts; we further recognize that the social constraints operating within other contexts may be quite different. Nevertheless, we believe it likely that the present interpretation is applicable to situations arising in other social contexts; for that reason, we present this summary in the form of hypotheses amenable to testing in a broad range of institutional contexts.

1. Unpatterned Situations

Ambiguous or Confused Definitions. When an individual is constrained to act but feels that he cannot predict the consequences of his own or other participants' behavior, his response to the situation will be to seek cues from other participants' behavior that can be used as indices of their definition of the situation. Where he can turn to persons in formal leadership roles, he will do so; but where this is not possible, the behavior of *any* other participant will be utilized as an index of how "other participants" define the situation. Where there are no appropriate behavioral cues available, the confused participant will tend to perseverate in his confusion until new action intervenes to structure the situation.

Contradiction or Conflict of Definition. When an individual is constrained to act but feels that two or more distinct definitions (each with its appropriate behavioral imperatives) are applicable to the situation, he

will first attempt to resolve the conflict by exemption, i.e., by assigning one definition a higher priority than that accorded to others. (This can be done either by exempting a particular type of event or a particular person from a more general definition.) Where this is not possible, he will attempt to achieve a compromise solution by which he can act in partial conformity to both (or all) definitions of the situation. When even this is not possible, he will seek to withdraw from the situation, unless otherwise constrained. If constrained, he will behave inconsistently, wavering between the two alternative definitions, until new action intervenes to structure the situation.

2. Modification of Definitions

Direct, overt interpersonal conflict is not likely to change either party's definition of the situation; its principal effect is likely to be the reinforcement of each combatant's values. Major changes of definition are more likely to be the result of a series of minor redefinitions, each dependent upon one or more of the following:

Changed Referents. When an individual's experience in a situation (or in a series of situations) leads to the reinforcement of particular reference groups, or to the internalization of new reference groups, his ideas of how he should act in the situation will be modified to conform to his modified self-conception.

Expectations of Consequences. When an individual's experience in a situation (or in a series of situations) leads to modification of his expectations of the consequences of his behavior, his ideas of how he should act in the situation will be modified to meet his new expectations of these consequences.

Similarly, when an individual's experience in a situation (or in a series of situations) leads to the modification of his expectations of how other participants will behave, his ideas of how he should act in the situation will be modified to meet his new expectations of their behavior.

SYMBIOSIS AND CONSENSUS AS INTEGRATIVE FACTORS IN SMALL GROUPS *

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THE subject of small group integration or cohesiveness has attracted interest among researchers ever since Simmel speculated on the differential structural characteristics of dyads and triads. It has been a subject of theoretical interest [1] as well as a research focus [2] since it attempts to grapple with a question that lies close to if not at the center of sociological problems: What is the nature of the social bond? What holds people together in groups?

The present study is a segment of a larger inquiry into the significance of symbiosis and consensus as integrative forces in small groups. The concepts of symbiosis and consensus were first given wide currency in

[1] See, for example, N. Gross and W. E. Martin, "On Group Cohesiveness," *American Journal of Sociology*, 57 (May, 1952), pp. 546–554, and R. S. Albert, "Comments on the Scientific Function of the Concept of Cohesiveness," *American Journal of Sociology*, 59 (November, 1953), pp. 231–234.

[2] See F. L. Strodtbeck and A. P. Hare, "Bibliography of Small Group Research," *Sociometry*, 17 (May, 1954), pp. 107–178. A large proportion of the items in that bibliography have been annotated

and brought up to date in A. P. Hare, E. F. Borgatta and R. F. Bales, *Small Groups: Studies in Social Interaction*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955, pp. 579–661. For useful summaries of research trends and illustrations see D. Cartwright and A. F. Zander (editors), *Group Dynamics: Research and Theory*, Evanston: Row, Peterson and Co., 1954; Special Issue on Small Group Research, *American Sociological Review*, 19 (December, 1954), pp. 651–781, and H. W. Riecken and G. C. Homans, "Psychological Aspects of Social Structure," in G. Lindzey (editor), *Handbook of Social Psychology*, Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publ. Co., 1954, Vol. 2, pp. 786–832. Particularly useful is the well-chosen selection in Hare, Borgatta, and Bales, *op. cit.*

sociology by Robert E. Park who utilized them in the study of the community.[3] By a symbiotic tie, we understand a relationship of interdependence, which may be illustrated by the division of labor. Two people may cohere as a group if each has something needed to offer the other. A consensual tie, on the other hand, signifies a relationship in which persons are held together by agreement, by common subscription to a set of values or culture. Such groups are characterized by like characteristics among their membership.

The research reported here was carried out on an air force population in the Air Defense Command.[4] Data were gathered at one air site on group participation in six informal activities—eating lunch, drinking coffee, get-togethers (bull sessions) in living quarters, informal activity on the job (horseplay and joking), leaving the air site and spending time off the air site (dates and other recreational activities). These had been found, by prior observation, to be the major activities in which small groups formed or were observable.

The first procedure followed was to observe group interaction directly and to record that interaction. This proved to be extremely difficult, particularly since the air site population was expanded to several times its original size shortly after observation had begun, and the task of direct observation became wholly unwieldy. Men left the site continually and returned at random periods several hours later. Bull-sessions in the barracks went on to late hours and took place simultaneously in many rooms. It became necessary to devise an alternative procedure, which took the following form.

A questionnaire was constructed in which each man was asked to *recall* whom he was with at very recent, specified lunch periods, coffee periods, etc. Each man then listed those whom he recalled. Each questionnaire was identified. Questionnaires were then compared and the original groups were reconstructed. For example, in answer to the question: "Whom did you spend time with off the site last night?" four men—Joe, Frank, Tom, and Bill—gave the following names:

Joe	Frank	Tom	Bill
Frank	Joe	Joe	Tom
Tom	Tom	Frank	Joe
Harry	Bill	Bill	Jack
		George	

The criterion was adopted that men would constitute a group if they confirmed each other's presence (in the case of dyads) or if two men who mentioned each other both agreed on a third or fourth. In the above case, Joe mentioned Frank and Frank mentioned Joe. Therefore, they confirmed each other's presence. But Joe and Frank both mentioned Tom. Therefore all three were present. Finally, Frank and Tom, who we have already decided were present, agree that Bill was also present. Consequently, it was decided that these four were present.[5] By means of this technique, a total of 182 groups, varying in size from two to four,[6] were obtained for analysis.

A measure of group cohesion was next devised in the following manner. After the respondent had listed names of group members, he was asked to draw a circle around those he most enjoyed being with, and to underline the names of those he "would rather not have had around." Each member's circlings and underlinings were given a score,

[3] See his "The Urban Community as a Spacial Pattern and a Moral Order," in E. W. Burgess (editor), *The Urban Community*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1926, pp. 3–18; "Reflections on Communication and Culture," *American Journal of Sociology*, 44 (September, 1938), pp. 187–205; "Human Ecology," *American Journal of Sociology*, 42 (July, 1936), pp. 1–15; and (with E. W. Burgess) *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1921, pp. 165–166, 505–511.

[4] The writer was assisted by three graduate students, Herman J. Loether, Duane N. Strinden, and L. Wes Wager.

[5] This approach of which limitations of space prevent further description, offers a number of unique features. A reconstruction of a group is possible without direct observation and without even a full report from each man. In the hypothetical case cited, Bill's report was actually not required. Thus if he had been away, or refused to fill out a questionnaire, the results would not be affected. It was also possible to secure data on normally secret or private activities that could not be observed directly. The validity of the technique was subjected to rigorous testing, the results of which form the subject of a forthcoming paper. This testing involved a comparison of reconstructed groups with a time sample of actually observed groups.

[6] Actually some of larger size were discovered, but their numbers were too few to admit of precise statistical treatment.

and this was added to the score the rater received from other members of the group. On this basis, a score was obtained for each person expressing the degree to which he accepted others in the group and how others accepted him. These scores were averaged to give a single score for the group, which was called its Index of Integration.[7]

Each group was next analyzed according to its composition with reference to seventeen variables.[8] Each variable was dichotomized. Thus, with reference to age, the distribution was split at the median and all those above it were called "old" and all those below, "young." A dyad, for example, might thus be of three, and only three, types: both members "old," both members "young," and one member "old" and one "young." For discrete variables, categories were meaningfully combined.

In order to establish conditions for a test of significance, the integration index score distribution was dichotomized at the median. A group above the median was then said to be of "high" integration, and one below it to be of "low" integration. Comparison was then made of the groups that fell in the high category with those in the low category. Thus, groups composed of two married men might make up 15 per cent of highly integrated groups but only 7 per cent of poorly integrated groups. A test of the significance of differences between percentages was then applied. The 5 per cent level of significance was employed. The significant findings with reference to groups of high integration are presented in Table 1. It may be seen from Table 1 that dyads composed of one single and one married man tended to be highly integrated. The other findings may be read in a similar manner.

A second analysis, which was possible with dyads only, made possible a refinement in the research. It was thought worth inquir-

TABLE 1. GROUP TYPES SIGNIFICANTLY HIGH IN DEGREE OF INTEGRATION

Variable	Group Size	Group Composition
Marital status	2	1 single, 1 married
Marital status	3	2 single, 1 married
Technical training in Air Force	3	2 with training, 1 without
Religion	4	3 Catholic, 1 non-Catholic
Months in service	2	2 with more than 24 months

ing whether any types of groups might be found which would be neither high nor low in integration, but would exhibit only moderate integration. An answer to this question required a trichotomy of the integration index scores. Triads and tetrads were found to have a narrow range with no convenient division points and it was felt to be hazardous to trichotomize the scores. But these conditions were not present in the case of the dyads. With the distribution of their scores trichotomized, tests of significance were performed to see whether any types of groups occurred more frequently among moderately integrated groups than they did in either high or low groups. The results are presented in Table 2. A group composed of

TABLE 2. DYADS SIGNIFICANTLY MORE OFTEN MODERATELY INTEGRATED THAN EITHER HIGH OR LOW

Variable	Group Composition
Enlistment with Air Force career intent	2 no
Now planning Air Force career	2 no
Background in other service branch	2 Air Force only
High school graduation	2 graduated
College attendance	1 with, 1 without

two high school graduates was more likely to be only moderately well-integrated than it was to be either highly or poorly integrated. The rest of the table may be read in the same way.[9]

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[7] For further description of this measure, see E. Gross, "Primary Functions of the Small Group," *American Journal of Sociology*, 60 (July, 1954), pp. 24–29.

[8] These variables were: age, marital status, siblings, nativity of parents, education, religion, enlistment career intention, months in service, months in other branches of service, overseas service, time in present specialty, technical training in the service, other source of income, pre-service occupation, and work section, time in present specialty, and present career intent.

[9] There was the possibility of intercorrelations among variables: the older man might also be the married man. This was eminently possible but did not prove to be so for the variables which were significant, with one exception. For example, marital status was not found to be related to whether or not a man had had technical training in the Air Force. The exception was the variable of career intent—those who did not plan a career in the Air Force on entering it usually continued with that plan to the end of their enlistment. However, this may be a spurious intercorrelation for only a small proportion, in any case, plan service careers.

The findings were next subjected to conceptual synthesis in terms of social organization theory. Observation and interviewing had led to the conclusion that groups could be roughly classified into two great categories: those in which members were interdependent because each satisfied some important need of his fellow—the symbiotic group—and those in which the members shared a value or goal or viewpoint—the consensual group.

Symbiotic groups tended to be composed of men of dissimilar or contrasting characteristics. This was found to be especially likely if the characteristics were related to adjustment to the job or to living or recreational conditions on the air site.[10] An illustration is provided by groups of mixed marital status, for example, a group composed of one single and one married man. At the air site under study, married men lived with their families off the site, while single men lived in barracks on the site. It was found that groups of mixed marital status could and did meet off the site in the married man's home and the single man was a friend of the family as well. In such situations, the married man tended to function as a link with home and family life for the single man. He was a resource to whom the single man, away from home, could and did turn. The married man enjoyed the role of father-substitute, and he offered the single man such help and guidance as he could. Typically this situation could fairly be called a symbiotic one. A similar situation was found to prevail for the other groups of unlike characteristics in Table 1.

On the other hand, it was discovered that consensual groups tended to be composed of men of like characteristics. The formation of consensual groups was especially likely when the characteristics were related to adjustment to the Air Force as a whole and to its group goals.[11] This was found to be the case for the groups of like characteristics in Table 2.

The explanation for this contrast between groups of unlike and like characteristics seemed to be the following: When men became upset about their jobs or air site living

[10] The data in support of this generalization are presented in E. Gross, *op. cit.*
[11] *Ibid.*

conditions, they needed and sought *help* from others. The persons sought out were likely to be men who had solved those problems or could help the men in trouble solve the problems (e.g., the single men seeking out the married man), and as such, were likely to be men *unlike* those who were seeking help. By contrast, men find the Air Force and its goals touch more significant matters of values and long-range plans. On these matters, they do not seek help—they are not "gripe" or problem areas which can be handled by going to a buddy. Instead dissatisfaction or concern in these areas was handled by individual decision: the individual sought out his superior or commanding officer and secured conclusive action of some kind. On these matters then, men were likely to find congenial others who had made similar decisions reflecting values similar to those held by themselves, and these were usually persons of similar background and personality characteristics to themselves. The neophyte who can scarcely wait to conclude his four-year "hitch" does not find the company of the old-soldier congenial.

These statements, however, do not imply that persons of unlike characteristics form symbiotic groups and persons of like characteristics form consensual groups. The relationship may be stated in the following form: *if* a group is symbiotic, then it tends to be made up of men of unlike characteristics, and *if* a group is consensual, then it tends to be made up of men of like characteristics. The reverse of either proposition does not necessarily follow. Indeed, the inability to make any direct inferences from a mere inspection of group make-up is brought out in Table 3. In this table are presented

TABLE 3. GROUP TYPES SIGNIFICANTLY LOW IN DEGREE OF INTEGRATION

Variable	Group Size	Group Composition
Marital status	2	2 single
Birthplace of parents	2	2 American
Outside source of income	2	2 without outside source
Technical training in Air Force	3	2 without, 1 with
Enlistment with Air Force career intent	4	3 no, 1 yes
Religion	4	2 Catholic, 2 non-Catholic

the findings with reference to groups that were found to be reliably *low* in integration. Thus, a group composed of two single men was likely to be significantly *poorly* integrated. The other findings may be read in a similar manner.

An inspection of Table 3 might lead one to conclude that three of the groups are consensual and three are symbiotic, and, since all these groups are poorly integrated, that symbiosis and consensus may act, not as cohesive ties, but as divisive or disintegrative forces. But the point is that closer observation revealed that none of these groups was in fact symbiotic *or* consensual. Thus, in the case of the two single men, their common marital status was the *only* thing (of seventeen possibilities) that they had in common (reliably, at the 5 per cent level). The group was of low integration because there were divisive forces present in it, and the common marital status of the members was not in itself a strong enough cohesive tie to offset the divisive forces. A similar reasoning aplies to the other groups composed of men of like characteristics. Similarity of birthplace of parents and the fact that both men do not have an outside source of income are not in themselves enough to bind the men together to any degree. In the case of groups made up of men of contrasting characteristics in Table 3, the point is well brought out for the variable of technical training. In Table 1 if a triad is composed of two men with such training and one without, then the group is highly integrated. But if the situation is reversed and two of the men do not have such training and one does, then the group is poorly integrated (see Table 3). Now, the point is that the former type of triad was found to be symbiotic: the men with the training were able to help the man without it. But in the case of the latter type of triad, the common situation was one in which the one man who had secured technical training had oriented himself to an Air Force career whereas the other two had not. The group was thus split by a difference in point of view. A similar situation seemed to prevail in the case of the tetrad (Table 3) composed of three men who did not plan a career in the Air Force and one who did. The final tetrad type in Table 3 was split equally

on religion and is suggestive of a coalition type of situation, but such groups were not observed with any degree of intensity, and no explanation can at present be ventured. But it did not perform symbiotic functions for its members so far as was observable.

From this point of view an examination of the findings suggests the following. Of our *highly* integrated groups (Table 1), four of the five relationships found to be significant involved symbiotic groups. These were groups made up of men of dissimilar marital status, technical training in the Air Force, and religion. By contrast, out of the *moderately* integrated groups (Table 2), four of the five relationships involved consensual groups.[12] They were found to be characterized by similarity of career intent, service background, and education. We are led to the conclusion, then, that both symbiosis and consensus may operate as cohesive ties in small groups, but that symbiosis seems to be a more powerful tie than does consensus. One further point may be made. It will be recalled that our integration measure involved the expression of mutual dislikes and likes. Another way of stating the conclusion, then, is that in small groups men get along with each other better if they are united symbiotically than they do if they are united by consensus. So stated, implications for sociometric analysis of group composition would follow. It is often assumed in small group research, that work teams, for example, will have higher morale or productivity if the members prefer each other than otherwise.[13] The research described here suggests that such preference may be made more likely through putting together people of

[12] It is difficult to assess the statistical probability of this number of relationships. If one thinks of them as being drawn from a universe of possible relationships, then the findings are distinctly better than chance would lead us to expect. For a given variable, 12 tests were employed. At the 5 per cent level of significance, we would expect .6, or less than one, of these tests to produce a chance finding.

[13] See, for example, J. H. Jacobs, "The Application of Sociometry to Industry," *Sociometry*, 8 (May, 1945), pp. 181–198; Maria Rogers, "Problems of Human Relations Within Industry," *Sociometry*, 9 (November, 1946), pp. 350–371; and L. D. Zeleny, "Selection of Compatible Flying Partners," *American Journal of Sociology*, 52 (March, 1947), pp. 424–431.

complementary characteristics, rather than persons of similar background or viewpoint.[14]

The most important question raised by these conclusions has to do with their generality. Although the analysis is based on a number of groups considerably larger than is usual in small group studies, these groups were all drawn from one unit of a military organization in Western culture. One would wish for replicated studies in many different types of organizations, and it is unfortunate that limitations of resources have so far prevented that kind of approach. Yet there is an important line of thought in sociology which suggests that *theoretical* generalization, at least, is possible.

The concepts of symbiosis and consensus are, after all, special facets of a typological analysis of social organization which has been central to the thinking of a number of the major figures in the history of sociological theory. The distinction was recognized, at least implicitly, by Ibn Khaldoun[15] in the contrast he drew between the nomadic life and the sedentary life; by Henry Sumner Maine[16] in his recognition of law based on status as opposed to law based on contract; by Ferdinand Tönnies[17] in the distinction between *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft;* by Emile Durkheim[18] in the striking contrast between the two types of solidarity, *solidarité mechanique* and *solidarité organique;* by William Graham Sumner[19] in the distinction between mores and law; by Charles Horton Cooley[20] when he contrasted the concept of

the primary group with the concept of the institution; and recently, by Robert Redfield[21] in the distinction between folk and urban cultures. It is not meant, of course, that these distinctions are equivalent. All that is being maintained is that, in spite of diverse interests and foci, an important group of scholars has recognized that a fundamental distinction may be made in terms of whether people meet as segmented personalities or whether they meet as total personalities. And this distinction is central to the distinction between, respectively, symbiosis and consensus. These are, of course, ideal types, and one should think in terms of a continuum between polar types with actual relationships falling somewhere in between.

In these theoretical terms, one may speculate on the differential cohesive strengths of symbiosis and consensus. In terms of the family of concepts of which they are members, symbiosis is probably generally stronger than consensus. What distinguishes symbiosis most clearly is that it implies a segmented relation and is least dependent for its operation on positive feelings. The relation between the shoemaker and the customer is symbiotic: each has something that the other needs—services, on the one hand, and money, on the other. As long as those needs persist, and as long as each has no easy alternative way of satisfying those needs, then the two will be linked. This does not mean that they will necessarily like each other; it does mean that they will remain united *whether they like each other or not.* And therein lies the strength of the symbiotic tie. Consensus, by contrast, depends wholly on the strength of positive feelings. Anything therefore, which produces disharmony or a conflict of views is likely to break up a consensual group. It is, potentially, more unstable. These theoretical considerations do not, of course, prove or disprove any hypothesis. They do suggest, however, that the analysis of cohesiveness in small groups in terms of symbiosis and consensus should be more generally fruitful and theoretically rewarding.

[14] It is no accident that Durkheim makes similar remarks with reference to the division of labor in marriage. (See *The Division of Labor in Society,* Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1947, pp. 56 ff.). As pointed out above, the division of labor is a major form of expression of symbiosis.

[15] See H. E. Barnes and H. Becker, *Social Thought from Lore to Science,* Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., 1938, Vol. 1, pp. 270 ff.

[16] See his *Ancient Law,* New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1873, pp. 164–165.

[17] See his *Fundamental Concepts of Society,* (Translated by C. P. Loomis) New York: American Book Co., 1940, *passim.*

[18] See *The Division of Labor in Society, op. cit.,* Chaps. 2 through 7.

[19] See *Folkways,* Boston: Ginn and Co., 1906, Chaps. 1 and 2.

[20] See his *Social Organization,* New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1909, Chaps. 3 and 4.

[21] See his article, "The Folk Society," *American Journal of Sociology,* 52 (January, 1947), pp. 293–308.

THE PERSISTENCE AND EMERGENCE OF SOCIAL AND CULTURAL SYSTEMS IN DISASTERS *

WILLIAM H. FORM AND CHARLES P. LOOMIS
IN COLLABORATION WITH
ROY A. CLIFFORD, HARRY E. MOORE, SIGMUND NOSOW,
GREGORY P. STONE AND CHARLES M. WESTIE

UNDER the threat of hydrogen-atomic warfare administrators are pressing social scientists for answers to questions concerning how people behave under disaster conditions. Understandably social scientists are now recognizing that disasters constitute an important area of investigation. Slowly an important literature is emerging which deals with human responses to such different kinds of disasters as tornadoes, bombings, floods, explosions, and earthquakes.

Disasters usually affect entire communities or large segments of communities and are present when the established social systems of the community abruptly cease to operate.[1] Their scope obviously demands organized and, if possible, community-wide responses to deal with widespread human suffering and physical damage. It would appear, therefore, that a primary objective of both social scientists and administrators should be to study social systems which survive disasters, and to relate these systems to tasks which confront communities prior, during, and subsequent to disaster impact. Put differently, disasters have a tremendous disruptive impact on functioning social systems, and social organizations must somehow arise to deal with human problems thus created. Despite this, many recent disaster studies have been designed to assess the effect of disasters on individual personality systems, rather than on strategic social systems. With the exception of Killian's work on the relevance of role conflict in disaster situations, and that of a few others, sociologists have hesitated to apply the tools of their trade to disaster analysis.[2] Legitimate as the study of personal stress in crisis may be, sociologists must be prepared to embrace the study of adjustment problems within broader sociological and social psychological propositions concerning social roles, social anomie, reference groups, community organization, and collective behavior. Perhaps the main reason for phrasing disaster research in individualistic terms is the commonly held premise that disasters completely destroy social systems, and they somehow strip the person of his social references and throw him back on his individual resources. Such reasoning automaticaly turns the research problem into one of studying the individual's morale, his adjustment, and personal reorganization. However, such a premise violates sociological theory and is inconsistent with what is observed of human behavior under disaster conditions.[3] Research must be based on opposite

[1] For an expanded definition see William H. Form, Sigmund Nosow, Gregory P. Stone, and Charles M. Westie, *Final Report on the Flint-Beecher Tornado,* prepared for the National Research Council, Social Research Service, Michigan State College, 1954.

[2] Lewis M. Killian, "The Significance of Multiple-Group Membership in Disaster," *American Journal of Sociology,* 57 (January, 1952), pp. 309–314; and "Some Accomplishments and Some Needs in Disaster Study," *Journal of Social Issues,* 10 (1954), pp. 66–72. Even when Killian addressed himself to the task of listing "verified propositions" concerning the nature of disaster impacts, he slipped into a psychological frame of reference. See Killian, *op. cit.,* "Some Accomplishments . . ." p. 69.

[3] There is no intention here to deprecate psychological studies of disasters, for much useful knowledge may be gained by assessing the effects of disasters on personality systems. However, the authors feel that more will be gained, theoretically and practically, if these studies focus more on how individuals become integrated into emergent disaster systems, how group identifications reduce personal disorganization, how the person's social definition in the pre-disaster system affects the nature of his interpersonal relations in the disaster and post-

premises, reflected in such crucial questions as: How do existing social systems adapt to disaster conditions? How do new social systems arise to meet emergencies? How do old and emergent systems respond to actual or threatened disasters? How do social persons adapt their life organizations to new social systems which arise during and after disasters? These are the type of questions raised by this paper.

Specifically this paper examines three empirical studies of different types of disasters (tornado, flood, and bombing) to shed light on the persistence and emergence of social and cultural systems in disasters. Three propositions emerge from these field studies.

1. Almost immediately after the impact of the destructive agent, a disaster system arises spontaneously to meet the human problems created and to restore a social equilibrium. Far from having a condition of social *anomie,* social systems continue to operate through *all* of the disaster stages, new systems emerge, and continuity is found between the old and the emergent social systems. The effectiveness of the pre-disaster and the emergent disaster systems, as well as the effectiveness of formal emergency organizations, are predictable on the basis of current sociological knowledge and theory.

2. The functioning of pre-disaster and emergent disaster systems can be understood only within the organizational and cultural contexts of the stricken communities. Thus, although propositions may be advanced about the persistence and emergence of social systems in general during disasters, additional observation must take into account the type of community structure involved and the cultural values of the affected groups. The responses of an American and Mexican community to the same flood are used as documentary materials here.

3. In highly complex urban societies characterized by conflicting loyalties and complex stratification arrangements, the person's response in disaster situations is a function of his social identifications and his position in the various sub-systems (including the strati-

fication system) of his community or society. German bombing survey materials will be used to document this proposition.

THE FLINT-BEECHER TORNADO

With partial support from the Committee on Disaster Studies of the National Research Council, the Social Research Service of Michigan State University studied the activities of spontaneous rescue groups and formal rescue and rehabilitation organizations in the Flint-Beecher tornado of 1953.[4]

One of the most impressive findings of this study is that spontaneously formed rescue groups made up of residents in and near the impact area formed almost immediately and "rescued" most of the 927 casualties from the debris within three or four hours after the tornado's impact. These spontaneously and informally organized rescue teams tended to be based on some previously existing social relationship in the community, such as the family, the neighborhood, the school, friendship bonds, and work associations, although some groups were composed largely of strangers.[5] The effectiveness of their operations was partially conditioned by the nature of their concern for the well-being of specific people and groups in the area. Also, their desire to help plus their intimate knowledge of the local area enabled formal organizations to function more effectively.[6] Although these rescue groups tended to function in an unintegrated manner for the first three or four hours, they were effective for a long enough period to do most of the rescuing, during the time when formal rescue organizations were least effective.

An additional finding of this study points to the difficulty of differentiating the activities of non-organizational and organizational volunteers in the early post-impact period.

disaster systems, how different cultural values of society affect personal behavior in emergency situations, and so on. These problems are social-psychological and sociological in character, and they have the advantage of embracing the clinical approach in a broader social and cultural context.

[4] The conclusions here summarized are based upon 200 interviews with community residents and members of organizations active during the crisis. For a statement of the sampling and other research problems involved, see Form, Nosow, Stone, and Westie, *Final Report, op. cit.*

[5] *Ibid.* See also Charles M. Westie, "Problems Encountered in Disaster Research," paper read before the Michigan Sociological Society, November 1954. Here Westie concludes that, "The 'irresponsible' teenager . . . was sometimes found to be an effective rescue worker because of his non-identification with crucial family roles."

[6] Form, Nosow, Stone, Westie, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

The following factors were found important in evaluating the effectiveness of volunteers as members of spontaneously formed rescue groups or as organizational members engaged in rescue: (1) his degree of involvement in the community, (2) his technical competence, and (3) his experience with crisis. Holding experience constant, non-resident volunteers may be ordered in terms of effectiveness in the following manner: The most effective volunteer is one who is technically competent but not personally involved in the life of the community. Next in effectiveness is one who is not technically competent nor personally involved in the life of the community. The third most effective is one who is technically competent and involved in the community. The least effective volunteer is one who is not technically competent but personally involved in the life of the community.[7] An ilustration of the last type was the assignment of picking out dead and injured young children to rescuers who themselves had children and had no training in this type of work. The empathy of these people was great enough in some cases to lead to breakdown and ineffectiveness.[8]

An analysis of the formal organizations which engaged in the rescue work indicates that the most effective had the following characteristics:[9] (1) They were internal to the community so that local residents had concrete expectations of how they would perform; (2) they exhibited internal organizational cohesion; (3) their dependence upon other organizations was minimal; (4) they were geared, *normally*, to what may be considered disaster-oriented activity; (5) their members were not involved as persons with the immediate consequences of the tornado; (6) they maintained their organizational identity by not acquiring outside "volunteer" help.[10]

The organizations which were least effective in rescue and early rehabilitation had the following characteristics: (1) they were external to the community in the sense that local residents had no expectancy patterns towards them; (2) they had an amorphous internal organizational structure; (3) they were autonomous status-oriented organizations: i.e., all or part of their membership belonged to the organization as a means of maintaining or enhancing their personal status in the larger community; (4) they had no tradition for dealing with disaster situations; (5) they were maximally dependent on other organizations to fulfill their plans; (6) their leadership was either elected or composed of quasi-professional people; (7) their membership, was composed largely of volunteers, who were not subject to discipline.[11]

In general it was found that in the Flint-Beecher disaster *"the success of the rescue activities was a function of the differential perceptions of the victims' needs based upon the roles that rescuers* (organizational members and others) *assumed.* Thus all of the workers in the field perceived the needs of the victims from the point of view of the roles they (the workers) were playing. Where roles were clearly defined, individuals performed according to expectations despite the apparent chaos of the situation. Most of the contingencies which arose were perceived and met if these contingencies had been prepared for. For example, canteen workers saw the victims as being hungry. First-aid people were most aware of the injuries of the victims. The police were most aware of the traffic problems in the area. The Beecher firemen were highly aware of the fires, although they were not of a serious nature. The Salvation Army defined people's needs as primarily spiritual. The utilities workers were most aware of the damaged power lines and the fallen telephone cables. The individual volunteer, through empathy, assumed rescue roles directed toward doing the 'most possible' for the victims."[12]

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[7] *Ibid.*, p. 22.

[8] *Loc. cit.*

[9] Criteria of effectiveness were the following: (1) The ability to select achievable tasks, and to complete those tasks, (2) the ability to avoid tasks which other agencies were doing or were capable of doing better, (3) the ability to maintain an objective evaluation of the organization's performance during the disaster stage, (4) the elicitation of positive evaluation by other agencies.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 18 and 19.

[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 122 and 123. The sociologist interested in value orientation of social systems would find a storehouse of data on value orientation of both the Gemeinschaft-like and Gesellschaft-like types. Westie, *op. cit.*, p. 3, observed: "The relatively cold and impersonal attitude of the Red Cross and its bureaucratic personnel gave rise to a high

In conclusion the Flint-Beecher tornado materials demonstrate that community responses and disasters may be better understood in terms of the social roles which its members play in the emergent social systems which are organically related to previously existing social systems. The adoption of this view is also requisite for effective planning for community disasters.

RIO GRANDE FLOOD

The 1954 Rio Grande flood provided an opportunity to study social and cultural differences of social systems involved in response to disaster. The study was centered in Piedras Negras, Mexico, a city of 30,000 where some 150 lives were lost, 1,300 homes destroyed and another 2,000 heavily damaged; and in Eagle Pass, Texas, a city of 8,000 directly across the river where there was no loss of life, 55 homes were destroyed and 300 damaged. Interviews with about 100 people drawn in area samples in each town provide the chief basis for the cross-cultural comparisons. Although these and other data are not as yet fully analyzed, the following broad differences were found: [13]

1. In each city informal groups were the major structural channels for defining the threat and meeting the initial danger. The Mexicans relied more frequently upon kinship and family ties than did Americans.

2. Higher proportion of Americans recognized that a personal threat existed from the time of the first early warnings until the time of the flood's arrival. On both sides of the river reference groups which seemed most important in the evaluation of the situation tended to play down threat of the flood. However, on the American side there was greater reliance and confidence in officials, and those in professional roles responsible for appraising the danger.

3. In evacuation, rescue, and rehabilitation family kinship obligations played a more important part in the Mexican community than in the American community.

4. The services and co-operation of formal organizations were more available and more effectively co-ordinated on the American side than on the Mexican side.

5. Community responsibility for the poor was greater on the American side than on the Mexican side, as was the social integration of the poor in the community's disaster systems.

6. After the disaster general bitter hostility toward city and other government officials was prevalent only on the Mexican side. Widespread but unproven beliefs persisted that local officials had misappropriated food, clothing, and other relief goods for their own enrichment. Also, the city government was condemned by many for not readily accepting American assistance.

7. Piedras Negras, like most Latin American cities, has a relatively small middle class of professionals and business men. Power resides primarily in the limited upper class or in *politicos* from other classes who attempt to assert upper-class status. In disasters studied in the American communities bitter hostility toward those in power was not found as was the case in Piedras Negras after the flood. This observation led the investigators to hypothesize that the pattern of hostility and scapegoating in disaster situations is related to the pattern of the status and power structures in the community. In societies with stronger middle classes (such as in the United States) lower classes may, after disasters, express hostility toward middle-class organizations such as the Red Cross. Nonetheless, the fact remains that the form of hostility is conditioned by the character of the class structure.

8. In line with earlier studies it was premised that, comparatively speaking, behavior on the Mexican side would be more Gemeinschaft-like, folk, and sacred; that on the American side, more Gesellschaft-like, urban, and secular. It was hypothesized that

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degree of negative feelings toward their organization. The professionally trained social workers' attitude toward the victims of the tornado was almost machine-like. Humanitarianism in any but a material sense seemed completely lacking among the Red Cross workers to whom this was an everyday job. In striking contrast, the Salvation Army workers approached their duties as warm and compassionate human beings, sharing the troubles of their brothers and sisters, praying and weeping with them. . . . From day to day the reputation of the Salvation Army skyrocketed in the eyes of the victims, while the Red Cross reputation became so deplorable that one Flint official said they would never raise a dime in the Flint area."

[13] Roy Clifford, *Informal Group Actions in the Rio Grande Flood,* First Report to the National Research Council, Committee on Disaster Research Studies, 1955.

reactions on the Mexican side, to co-opera-
tive activities involved in evacuation, rescue,
and rehabilitation would be structured into
roles which would require more affective,
diffuse, and particularistic identifications than
on the American side, and that authority
would be more ascriptive, rather than
achieved.[14]

GERMAN BOMBING MORALE STUDIES

The studies of the effects of bombing
German cities on verbalized expressions,
sabotage, subversion, and other behavior
indicating low war morale led to several
conclusions that have significance for studies
of disasters. Although the duration and focus
of persistent bombing differ from a tornado
or flood, the variable of morale is an im-
portant element common to all disasters. The
ability of social systems to continue to func-
tion during periods of stress, and the emer-
gence of new systems to meet unforeseen
emergencies in fact may constitute an opera-
tional definition of morale. One of the prob-
lems of the sociologist is to find some of the
determinants for the persistence and emer-
gence of social systems dedicated to preserve
or restore the social equilibrium. Several
findings from the study of the bombing of
German cities may illuminate this problem.

1. Under bombardment, identification with
the national cause was the most important
determinant of morale.[15] During World War
II sabotage and active opposition to the war
rarely occurred in German cities, even during
periods of extremely heavy bombing. Scanty
evidence available suggests that air raids
may have produced at most a very slight
increase in overt subversive activity. Regard-
less of the intensity of bombing and other
variations, those sympathetic with the Nazi
cause retained, relatively speaking, the high-

est war-supporting morale.[16] Thus, although
within all groups there were large propor-
tions who admitted experiencing intense fear
as a result of bombardment, the influence of
fear on the Nazi war-supporting morale was
relatively small. It may be concluded then
that the psychological phenomenon of fear
experienced by most people was not related
to the more sociological phenomenon of
morale.[17] Hence it may be hypothesized that
there are different levels of morale, which
are a function of the differential evaluations
and interpretations of the fear-producing
experiences. These evaluations in turn are
functions of the person's reference groups and
the kind of social support he receives.

2. "The more actively religious cities had
a lower war morale and were more willing to
accept unconditional surrender than the
communities less active from the religious
point of view."[18] Sociologically this suggests
that the Nazi social systems and sub-systems
supported war morale, while those oriented
to different values did not give such strong
support.

3. The very classes which have the highest
suicide rates in peace time namely, the
middle classes, were the classes which pro-
vided relatively the largest Nazi support.
Their identification with Nazism and its
national goals, and their integration into
Nazi social systems, despite the war and
bombing, apparently had the effect of reduc-
ing their suicide rates during the war.[19]
Among other things this finding suggests that

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[14] Talcott Parsons, *The Social System*, Glencoe,
Illinois: The Free Press, 1951, p. 198. The con-
cepts affective, diffuse, particularistic, ascriptive, and
their opposites are taken from the pattern variable
schemology of Parsons. Gemeinschaft and Gesell-
schaft are from Ferdinand Toennies, *Fundamental
Concepts of Sociology*, (Gemeinschaft and Gesell-
schaft) New York: American Book Company, 1940.
See also Howard Becker, "Sacred and Secular So-
cieties," *Social Forces*, 28 (May, 1950), pp. 361–376,
and Robert Redfield, *The Folk Culture of Yucatan*,
Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941.

[15] See I. L. Janis, *Air War and Emotional Stress*,
New York: McGraw-Hill, 1951, p. 192.

[16] *The Effects of Strategic Bombing on German
Morale*, The United States Strategic Bombing Sur-
vey, Washington; U. S. Government Printing
Office, 1947, Vol. 1, p. 2. "Belief in Nazi ideas and
Nazi cause had more influence than any other factor
on the morale of the German civilian. It was in
fact, more important than direct bombing experi-
ence, for ardent Nazis subjected to heavy bombing
retained better morale, as a group, than did non-
Nazis who were not bombed at all." [*Ibid.*, p. 33.]

[17] "The immediate effect of the experience was
very much the same for all, regardless of other
aspects of morale. . . . It is not so much whether
people become frightened as what they do about it
that affects the outcome." [*Ibid.*, p. 36.] It is, of
course, the authors' belief that evaluation, knowl-
edge, and action are determined in large measure
by the person's group identifications.

[18] *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 1.

[19] *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, and Charles P. Loomis, *Studies
in Applied and Theoretical Social Science*, E.
Lansing: Michigan State College Press, 1950, Chap-
ters 21 and 22.

bombing or other disasters may not have the same effect on communities which differ in their stratification structures.

4. "Transportation seems to have been the critical public utility for the morale of civilian populations. Its disruption lowered morale more than interference with the functioning of other utilities." [20] Although not exploited by the Survey, sociologists confronted with this finding would suggest the hypothesis that disruption of transportation and communication facilties prevents urban groups from supporting their members, delays the evaluation and cognition of the disaster, and disrupts such social systems as families with scattered members.

5. "... the evacuation of children, particularly if they were sent long distances from their families, had the most adverse effect on morale." [21] Also under bombardment, casualties in the immediate family were associated with much lower morale than were losses from property alone. [22]

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[20] The Effects of Strategic Bombing on German Morale, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 1.

[21] Op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 2.

[22] Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 28. In reviewing the effects of bombing in both Germany and Japan Janis concluded that "sabotage and active opposition to the war effort rarely occurred, even during periods of extremely heavy bombing. Scanty evidence avail-

The study of the effect of bombing upon personal morale of German civilians can be adequately understood only in terms of their identification, involvement with, and participation in various social systems.

SUMMARY

The studies which have been reviewed in the limited space available indicate that if behavior during and after disasters is to be adequately understood, more research is needed concerning the social and cultural attributes of the social systems involved. In addition to the social and cultural dimensions in disaster research, there are the typical differences related to their duration and focus as stressed by Carr. [23] Studies of personality adjustment under stress, although important, must be analyzed within the broader social and cultural contexts of life.

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able suggests that air raids may have produced, at most, only a very slight increase in overt subversive activity." [Janis, op. cit., p. 152.] This stands in sharp contrast to the effect of the Rio Grande flood. The question must then be posed: What are the conditions under which disaster will bring disruption coupled with active opposition to those in power?

[23] L. J. Carr, "Disaster and the Sequence-pattern-Concept of Social Change," American Journal of Sociology, 38 (September, 1932), pp 207–218.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS AND PARTICIPATION IN THE POLIOMYELITIS VACCINE TRIAL *

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THE relationships between socio-economic status and orientations toward values such as health, cleanliness, and education have been observed in a large number of community studies and attitude surveys by social scientists. Recently attention has been directed to the effect of socio-economic status on types of treatment sought for various illnesses. [1] Independently, practitioners in the field of public health have

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* The research here reported was designed and carried out by the Laboratory of Socio-environmental Studies, Research Branch, National Institute of Mental Health, Public Health Service, Department of Health, Education and Welfare in collaboration with the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis. Field interviewing was conducted by the Bureau of Social Science Research, American University, under a grant from the N.F.I.P. Local arrangements were facilitated by Dr. Harold Kennedy, Health Officer of the county in which the research was conducted, without whose

interest and very full co-operation this study would not have been possible. The project was a joint formulation of the staff of the Laboratory of Socio-environmental Studies. John A. Clausen, Chief, was study director. Others who participated were: Rosalie Kasaba, Gladys Morris, Frances Polen, Charlotte G. Schwartz, Marian Radke-Yarrow and E. Grant Youmans.

[1] For example, see August B. Hollingshead and Frederick C. Redlich, "Social Stratification and Psychiatric Disorder," American Sociological Review, 18 (April, 1953), pp. 163–169.

learned to make reasonably accurate predictions of the amount of co-operation community health programs will receive from various segments of the local population. In general, they seem to anticipate that preventive programs will encounter the greatest opposition in the strata of lower socio-economic status, except where specific vested interests of other groups are involved. But precise information about responses of various segments of the population to health programs has not, to the writer's knowledge, been reported in the sociological literature.

An opportunity to analyze responses to a new program which offered the possibility of giving protection against poliomyelitis was provided in the spring of 1954 when the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis sponsored a large-scale trial of the poliomyelitis vaccine developed by Dr. Jonas Salk. The effectiveness of the vaccine could be determined only by its administration to large numbers of people. The vaccine was offered to children in certain grades in selected areas throughout the U. S., on condition that their parents approve their participation.

Immediately preceding the actual trial of the vaccine, a study was conducted by the Laboratory of Socio-environmental Studies of the National Institute of Mental Health to ascertain the factors which influenced parental decision to grant or to refuse permission for their children to participate.[2] Interviews were obtained in a northern Virginia county which is partially suburban to Washington, D. C., partly rural. This was the only county adjacent to Washington in which the trial was carried out. Four neighboring areas withdrew from participation because of various reasons relating to scheduling of the trial. In addition, the division of medical opinion about the trial which was current at that time was given publicity in the Washington papers. Results which are presented here should be viewed with the above factors in mind.

This paper will present findings which bear on the relationship between socio-eco-

nomic status and reactions to the initial large-scale trial of the poliomyelitis vaccine. We shall be concerned with the decisions of mothers to give or withhold permission for their children to participate, with the mothers' previous experiences relating to poliomyelitis, with the amount of information the mothers possessed about the vaccine trials, and with their attempts to secure more information.

THE SAMPLE

The population surveyed was comprised of a random sample of mothers of second grade children in five public schools.[3] Every third name from an alphabetical list of each section in each school was drawn. A total sample of 160 was selected.[4] From this sample, 138 mothers were interviewed. Three mothers refused to be interviewed.[5]

It was expected that there would be a relationship between socio-economic status and participation in the polio vaccine trials which would be reflected in differential knowledge about, concern with, and participation in the program. In order to determine whether this was the case, respondents were classified through the use of an index which was based on three variables: occupation of the male head of the household, education of the male head of the household, and education of the mother. A cumulative score based on these three variables was utilized in assigning the 138 persons interviewed to one of the three socio-economic status groups.

Occupation[6] of the male head of the

[2] Readers who wish information about the results of the larger study are referred to John A. Clausen, Morton A. Seidenfeld, and Leila C. Deasy, "Parent Attitudes Toward Participation of Their Children in Polio Vaccine Trials," *American Journal of Public Health*, 44 (December, 1954), pp. 1526–1536.

[3] Two rural schools and two suburban schools attended by white children, and one school serving Negro children from rural and suburban areas were included.

[4] As a phase of the larger study, the initial sample, on which results reported here are based, was supplemented by drawing an additional subsample of non-consenting mothers.

[5] The other cases were lost because the wrong person was interviewed, because no one was at home, or because, in one case, the house could not be found. An additional eight cases were eliminated for reasons which will be explained below. Therefore, results from 130 cases are presented here.

[6] Edwards' revised classification of occupations into socio-economic groupings was utilized in assigning ratings to the occupation of the male head of the household. See Alba M. Edwards, *A Social-Economic Grouping of the Gainful Workers of the U. S., 1930*, Washington: U. S. Government Print-

household was weighted twice as heavily as was education. Occupation was considered to be the more important variable, since there is consensus among American social scientists that it is the best single index of socio-economic status. Ratings on occupation ranged from a score of 12 for professional persons to 2 for unskilled workers. Ratings on education ranged from a score of 6 for post-graduate training to 1 for persons having grade school training up to and including grade school graduation, but with no high school training.

Data on all three variables were obtained for 130 cases—8 cases were eliminated because data on all three variables were not available. Each of the 130 cases was assigned, on the basis of the cumulative score, to one of the three groups, here designated as Groups I, II, and III.[7] It is in no way implied that the groups here delineated are status groups, but that they are aggregates of individuals, placed together because they possess certain similar characteristics. Nor can Groups I, II, and III be equated with the "upper," "middle," and "lower" classes. For instance, members of Group I cannot be considered "upper class" since respondents were mothers of children attending public schools; and members of Group III are not "lower class," as all of the fathers except one were employed, and because of the nature of their employment.[8]

The three groups may be described in general as follows: Group I is comprised of husbands who are college-trained professionals, married to college-trained wives. Group II is occupationally heterogeneous, including professionals as well as skilled workmen; more than three-fourths of the men and women had either been graduated from high school or gone beyond high school graduation. Group III is comprised of men at the level of skilled workmen or below on Edwards' ranking of occupations, who were not high-school graduates, married to women who were not high-school graduates.[9]

FINDINGS

Our data demonstrate that there is a clear relationship between socio-economic status and participation in the poliomyelitis vaccine field trial. More parents in Groups I and II than in Group III gave consent for their children to participate in the vaccine trial.[10] (See Table 1.)

TABLE 1. PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO GAVE CONSENT FOR THEIR CHILD TO PARTICIPATE IN THE POLIOMYELITIS VACCINE TRIAL

	Highest SES (N=42) Per Cent	Middle SES (N=44) Per Cent	Lowest SES (N=44) Per Cent
Gave consent	86	84	43
Did not give consent	14	16	57
Total	100	100	100

Implications of this finding are immediately apparent—it indicates that the "less privileged" members of the total population may also be the ones who are least likely to avail themselves of services which many medical experts believed would decrease the likelihood of their children contracting a crippling disease. But why did more of the parents of Groups I and II give consent for their children to participate? There is a consistent pattern of responses related to both motivational and informational factors, which appear to offer an explanation for this differential participation.

We attempted to explore the motivations of consenting mothers by asking them their main reason for giving consent, and of non-consenting mothers by asking them their main reasons for not giving consent. Responses of consenting mothers are given in Table 2. While there are no statistically significant differences among the three groups on the

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[7] All persons scoring 20 or above on the index were assigned to Group I; those having a cumulative score of 12–19 were assigned to Group II; those scoring 11 or below were assigned to Group III.

[8] Seventy-three per cent of the male household heads were either unskilled or semi-skilled workmen; 25 per cent were skilled workmen, and one was a clerical worker.

ing Office, 1938, pp. 1–6, as revised in Edwards, *Comparative Occupation Statistics for the U. S., 1870–1940,* Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1943, pp. 176–180.

[9] All cross tabulations were run separately on each of the three variables which comprise the index, and were found not to differ significantly from findings obtained when the index was used.

[10] All findings reported are significant at the .05 level of confidence unless otherwise indicated. The test used was that for the significance of differences between independent proportions.

TABLE 2. MAIN REASON MOTHERS GAVE FOR ALLOW-
ING THEIR CHILD TO PARTICIPATE IN THE
POLIOMYELITIS VACCINE TRIAL

	Highest SES (N=36) Per Cent	Middle SES (N=37) Per Cent	Lowest SES (N=19) Per Cent
Child not so likely to get polio	52	76	52
Contribute to scientific research	39	16	16
Other reasons	9	8	21
No information	..	..	11
Total	100	100	100

figures reported, it is noteworthy that a
greater number of members of Group I
seemed to show an interest in the scientific
aspects of the program. From other data it
is apparent that members of Group II also
shared this scientific orientation. In response
to an attitude item: "They shouldn't try
out this vaccine on children unless they
know it will prevent polio," 88 per cent of
Group I members, 79 per cent of Group II
members, and 34 per cent of Group III
members disagreed with the statement.

For all three groups, however, the most
important motivating factor was that of at-
tempting to secure protection for their chil-
dren against poliomyelitis. For those refusing
to grant permission for their children to
participate, the "main reason" most often
given was the mother's fear either that the
vaccine was not safe or that some physical
condition of the child made it unwise for
him to receive the vaccine. (See Table 3.)

TABLE 3. MAIN REASON MOTHERS GAVE FOR NOT
ALLOWING CHILD TO PARTICIPATE IN THE
POLIOMYELITIS VACCINE TRIAL

	Highest SES (N=6) Per Cent	Middle SES (N=7) Per Cent	Lowest SES (N=25) Per Cent
No proof shots may prevent polio	17	..	4
Mother believes shots are unsafe	17	14	40
Child's physical condition makes partici-pation unwise	33	29	20
Child objected to participation	..	29	4
Other	33	28	32
Total	100	100	100

Thus the respondents indicated that they
were primarily interested in the health of
their child when a chance to take part in
the vaccine trial was offered them. Those who
agreed did so because they hoped that sub-
sequently their children would be less likely
to contract poliomyelitis; those who refused
to do so were deterred because they feared
possible harmful effects on the child if he
took the vaccine.

The concern of mothers of second grade
children about poliomyelitis was also illus-
trated when respondents were asked: "In
the past, what have you done to protect
your family against polio?" The two courses
of action reported most often were those of
keeping their children out of crowded areas
and paying especial attention to health care
(such as not letting the child get overheated,
making sure that he got enough rest, etc.).
The results obtained are shown in Table 4.

TABLE 4. PREVIOUS PRECAUTIONS REPORTED BY
MOTHERS AS HAVING BEEN TAKEN TO
PROTECT FAMILY AGAINST POLIO

	Highest SES (N=42) Per Cent*	Middle SES (N=44) Per Cent*	Lowest SES (N=44) Per Cent*
Took no precautions	7	16	59
Kept child out of crowded areas	69	57	23
Paid special attention to health care	81	64	23

* Percentages do not add to 100 because of
multiple response.

The assumption that women of higher
education levels whose husbands are in more
prestigeful occupations would be more likely
to have known about and taken measures to
prevent their children from contracting polio-
myelitis is borne out by the finding in
Table 4.

Thus, we see that more members of Groups
I and II than of Group III not only gave
consent for their children to participate in
the vaccine trials, but also, in the past, have
been carrying on health practices which
they felt might lessen the chances of their
children's contracting poliomyelitis. This
probably reflects more knowledge about the
disease entity itself and about protective
measures that have been suggested in the

past, rather than more inherent concern for the welfare of their children.

One of the factors which might contribute to a higher general level of awareness of polio would be prior contact with someone who has been diagnosed as having a clinical case of poliomyelitis. Therefore, all respondents were asked the following question: "Have you known anyone who has had polio?" (See Table 5.)

A larger proportion of Group III than of Group I and II members reported that they had not known anyone who had had poliomyelitis. It was also found that members of Group I had had a close friend, a relative, or someone in the family who had had poliomyelitis to a greater extent than had members of Groups II and III. Three possible reasons which either singly or in combination may provide explanations for this finding might be offered: (1) that those in the highest group have known persons suffering from an illness that they knew had been diagnosed as poliomyelitis, whereas persons in the other two groups may have had contact with undiagnosed cases of poliomyelitis, or with cases whose diagnosis had not been communicated to them; (2) that persons in the highest group tend to have a greater actual number of persons whom they consider as "close friends," thereby increasing the probability of their having known someone called a close friend who had suffered from a case of diagnosed clinical poliomyelitis; (3) that the actual incidence and prevalence of cases of diagnosed clinical poliomyelitis is higher among the higher socio-economic groups in the population.

TABLE 5. MOTHERS' REPORTS OF PRIOR
KNOWLEDGE OF A POLIO VICTIM

	Highest SES (N=42) Per Cent*	Middle SES (N=44) Per Cent*	Lowest SES (N=44) Per Cent*
Close friend, relative, someone in family	62	18	11
Someone known to family	36	55	22
Have not known anyone who had polio	12	32	66
No information	..	..	2

* Percentages do not add to 100 because of multiple response.

Epidemiologists have reported that the actual incidence of poliomyelitis does go up as standards of cleanliness go up and the occurrence of "natural immunity" because of exposure goes down.[11]

The results reported in Table 5 demonstrate that members of Group I, and to a lesser extent members of Group II, reported a higher level of awareness of poliomyelitis prior to the introduction of the new vaccine. It was also found that they learned about the proposed introduction of the Salk vaccine in their county earlier than did members of Group III. They were asked: "How did you first hear that second grade children in this county would have a chance to get the polio vaccine shots?" The results obtained are shown in Table 6.

A larger percentage of members of Group III first heard of the vaccine trial from the school than did members of Group I. And a greater proportion of members of Groups I and II than of Group III first heard about the trial through the newspapers. These differences probably reflect the newspaper reading habits of the three groups. They cannot

[11] Sabin, in summarizing results of epidemiological research on paralytic polio, states: "In general, the poorer the population, its standard of living and sanitation, the more extensively is poliomyelitis virus disseminated among them and the lower is the incidence of paralytic poliomyelitis when virulent strains of virus come their way." See page 1229 in Albert B. Sabin, "Paralytic Consequences of Poliomyelitis Infection in Different Parts of the World and in Different Population Groups," *American Journal of Public Health*, 41 (October, 1951), pp. 1215–1230. It is further reported by Melnick and Ledinko that "antibodies to all three types of poliomyelitis virus were present to a significantly higher degree in the lower economic group both in the spring [preceding an epidemic of poliomyelitis] and in the fall [subsequent to an epidemic of poliomyelitis]. . . . And the poliomyelitis antibodies, increased to a much greater extent in the lower economic groups." [J. L. Melnick and N. Ledinko, "Development of Neutralizing Antibodies Against the Three Types of Poliomyelitis Virus during an Epidemic Period," *American Journal of Hygiene*, 58 (September, 1953), pp. 215, 219.] Similar findings are reported in W. McD. Hammon, G. E. Sather and N. Hollinger, "Preliminary Report of Epidemiological Studies on Poliomyelitis and Streptococcal Infections," *American Journal of Public Health*, 40 (March, 1950), pp. 293–306, and S. D. Collins, "The Incidence of Poliomyelitis and Its Crippling Effects as Recorded in Family Surveys," *Public Health Reports*, 61 (March 8, 1946), pp. 327–355.

TABLE 6. INITIAL SOURCE OF INFORMATION ABOUT COUNTY POLIO TRIAL REPORTED BY MOTHERS

	Highest SES (N=42) Per Cent	Middle SES (N=44) Per Cent	Lowest SES (N=44) Per Cent
Newspapers	84	67	25
School	10	27	54
Child	2	0	9
Other sources	4	6	12
Total	100	100	100

be explained in terms of the reported availability of newspapers to respondents. (All of those in Group I, 95 per cent of those in Group II, and 80 per cent of those in Group III stated that they subscribed to a daily newspaper.) However, more members of Group I than of Group III reported that they had read or heard about the program from sources other than the school.

An attempt was made to determine whether the respondents had consulted with or talked to anyone outside their family members about the vaccine trials.

Members of Groups I and II talked to or consulted their neighbors, friends and relatives about the vaccine trials to a greater extent than did members of Group III, but neither members of Group I or Group II consulted a physician in significantly greater numbers than did members of Group III. It should be noted that even though the vaccine trial was conducted at the schools, only 13 per cent of the sample of 130 mothers reported that they had talked to anyone at the school about the vaccine trial.

CONCLUSIONS

After assigning individuals to three socio-economic strata, we have attempted to find

TABLE 7. MOTHERS' REPORTS OF AMOUNT THEY HAD READ OR HEARD ABOUT THE POLIOMYELITIS VACCINE TRIAL

	Highest SES (N=42) Per Cent	Middle SES (N=44) Per Cent	Lowest SES (N=44) Per Cent
Little or nothing	10	23	55
A fair amount	47	34	29
A good deal	43	43	16
Total	100	100	100

out whether there are differences in their responses to the opportunity of having their children, who were in the second grade, receive the poliomyelitis vaccine. We stratified a random sample of 130 mothers into three socio-economic groups, based on their and their husbands' educational level, and their husbands' occupational level. It was found that mothers assigned to the lowest group differed consistently from members of the other two groups: they were less likely to allow their children to participate in the Salk vaccine trial, they knew less about the trial, and they demonstrated a lower level of awareness of the disease entity itself. Results presented here indicate that families who have reached a certain occupational-

TABLE 8. MOTHERS' REPORTS OF THEIR DISCUSSIONS OF THE POLIOMYELITIS VACCINE TRIAL WITH OTHERS

	Highest SES (N=42) Per Cent*	Middle SES (N=44) Per Cent*	Lowest SES (N=44) Per Cent*
Talked to or consulted doctor	48	39	23
Talked to or consulted friends, relatives, neighbors	60	71	25
Talked to or consulted someone at school	14	23	2

* Percentages do not add to 100 because of multiple response.

educational level tend to be reached by information disseminated in the mass media and to attach positive value to preventive health practices. The "less privileged" members of society seem to be the persons who lack knowledge of, and motivation to participate in, such programs.

Several possible explanations for these differences are ruled out because of the nature of the experiment. The economic factor is irrelevant because the vaccine was offered free. Presumably no social stigma was attached to participation in this voluntary program. There was no difference in the availability of information about the program, since every child was instructed to take home to his parents a brochure which explained the program. Widespread newspaper coverage was given to the trial and

as has been reported, practically every respondent stated that her family subscribed to a daily newspaper.

We cannot state definitely that differential participation in the program is explained because of the motivational and informational factors which have been explored here. In view of the small number of cases, it was not reasonable to control one variable, such as motivation to participate, to determine whether it is crucial and whether all others are dependent upon it. We can state that the cluster of factors presented is related both to socio-economic status and to participation in the program. We believe that there is more than a correlation among these variables, however, and that the differences found to exist may be accounted for by differences in the basic value orientations of respondents in these groups. Perhaps members of Group III have had less experi-

ence with and have less confidence in doctors. Perhaps they have less understanding of and attach less importance to "research." Perhaps they do not think in terms of trying to prevent illness, but rather accept more fatalistically those illnesses which befall them and their families.

In reflecting on these findings one might go further: are attitudes toward the proposed introduction of new health practices illustrative of a much wider aspect of socioeconomic differences in orientation—such as orientations toward planning, toward time perspectives, toward the attachment of positive values to the rational control of one's future, toward fear of disease, toward the positive evaluation of science and of medicine? Social scientists, by addressing further attention to such problems, may add significantly to a more complete understanding of the nature of our society.

AN INTERACTIONAL STUDY OF OJIBWA SOCIALIZATION *

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THEORETICAL CONTEXT

A FUNDAMENTAL assumption of many students of personality is that "culture" determines personality. Kluckhohn and Murray, for example, state that personality formation is determined by the culture of the group as this is presented to the child through group agents, especially parents and other family members.[1] Similar statements of this proposition can also be adduced.[2]

Because such statements are at a high level of abstraction, they pose problems in formulating an empirical test. One way of approaching such a test is to study several communities, or families, of the same general cultural heritage, each of which is at a different level of acculturation. By comparing estimates of individual personalities at these different levels, inferences about the effects of overall acculturation can be gained. This has been done, for example, by Hallowell in his studies of the Ojibwa Indians. By comparing the projective test responses of representative samples of persons in three contemporary Ojibwa communities, each representing a different degree of acculturation, he found: (1) that "lowered psychological integration" accompanied greater acculturation, but (2) that the historic type of personality structure, which he terms "introverted," was not altered.[3]

[1] C. Kluckhohn and H. A. Murray, "Personality Formation: The Determinants," in Kluckhohn and Murray (Editors), *Personality in Nature, Society, and Culture,* New York: Knopf, 1950, pp. 40, 42.

[2] See E. Sapir, "Personality," in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences,* Vol. 12, p. 87; R. Linton, "Foreword" in A. Kardiner, *The Psychological Frontiers of Society,* New York: Columbia Uni-

versity Press, 1945, pp. vii–viii; and M. Mead, "National Character," in A. L. Kroeber, *Anthropology Today,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953, pp. 644–645.

[3] A. I. Hallowell, *Culture and Experience,* Phila-

The general problem posed for this paper is whether the persistence over time of some adult personality characteristics, or the changes in others, can be traced to personality formation in childhood. This question can be answered if we know whether acculturation in many or most areas of group life other than child-rearing affects the personality formation of children.

Here "personality formation" is viewed as a process of communication in which the child learns through interaction. The interactional framework pursued by most social psychologists since Cooley is given one of many possible interpretations in the sections which follow. By focusing upon the child's overt responses in interaction, an estimate of personality functioning is made which presumably can be related to the whole process of personality formation.[4]

The hypothesis to be tested is that changes in culture patterns other than child-rearing will correlate with changes in the personality functioning of children in interaction with their parents.[5] This hypothesis was tested among the Ojibwa communities studied by Hallowell by observing children in families which differed in their level of acculturation with regard to subsistence, kinship, and religion; classifying the children's responses in interaction with parents; and comparing estimates of the relative frequency of these responses.

EMPIRICAL SETTING

Two Ojibwa communities, located in Wisconsin and in Manitoba, were studied.

delphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1955, Chs. 6, 19, and 20. Hallowell provided the author with unpublished data and generous advice in preparing for fieldwork.

[4] See M. Mead, loc. cit.; L. S. Cottrell, Jr., "Analysis of Situational Fields in Social Psychology," American Sociological Review, 7 (June, 1942), pp. 370–82; R. R. Sears, "A Theoretical Framework for Personality and Social Behavior," The American Psychologist, 6 (September, 1951), p. 482; and particularly J. Henry, "Family Structure and the Transmission of Neurotic Behavior," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 21 (October, 1951), p. 815.

[5] In the larger investigation relationships among child-care techniques, the child's learning experience, and personality functioning were investigated. See Boggs, Ojibwa Socialization, unpublished Ph.D dissertation, Washington University, St. Louis, 1954, and Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Publication No. 11,554, Chs. 4–6 and 8.

These were the more-acculturated of the three communities studied by Hallowell. Field work was undertaken by the investigator and his wife during thirteen months in 1951–52.

Following a survey in each community, nine families (households) were selected for intensive observation. They were selected because they manifested differences in cultural status, the mother in each family had a definite Ojibwa background, and there was at least one young child (16 months through 6 years) in the family. The sample for each level of acculturation included families with compositions typical of that level: nuclear, grandparent-grandchild, mother-child. Self-selection played some part in the inclusion of three families. No families refused their co-operation.

Levels of Acculturation. Both of the communities studied had acculturated considerably over approximately 300 years of contact, especially in clothing, housing, tools, and means of transportation. In other patterns, most of the acculturation occurred within the past 75 years. Because of the uneven rate of acculturation by the two communities and by individual families, however, a wide range of cultural differences was manifested within the sample.

At one extreme, for example, was the Bird family, represented in Table 2. They lived by hunting, trapping, and fishing in an area that was several hundred miles distant from a predominantly white settlement. Husband and wife practiced most of the traditional division of labor. They lived much of the time with an extended family residence group. All of the family had participated in modern variants of the old shamanistic religion, although they viewed themselves as Christians. The infant of the family was cared for with the traditional cradleboard.

At the other extreme were the families of level IV, such as the Arnaud family. This family lived by relief payments and temporary unskilled labor. They frequently resided in a large city. Husband and wife performed ill-defined, shifting roles and were separated for several years, including the study period. The family was of the isolated nuclear type with siblings widely scattered over the United States. The adults were predominantly secular, attending church once

or twice a year. A number of Euro-American child-care practices, but not one traditional Ojibwa practice, appeared consistently.

The various levels were differentiated for purposes of the study according to the families' retention of nine culture patterns, which did not include child-care practices. Families with most aspects of traditional parent-child relationships differed from families lacking them by manifesting: (1) partial reliance upon any traditional subsistence technique and (2) a definite religious orientation, indicated by regular participation in Ojibwa or Christian groups. Families of levels III and IV were more acculturated than this. Unlike some families of levels I and II, they had also lost the pattern of seasonal movement which was part of the hunting-gathering economy, the pattern of participation with an extended family, and most of the traditional roles of husband and wife. In fact, all but one of them lacked any consistent and complementary division of labor between husband and wife. Thus nuclear family disorganization is a correlate of acculturation in levels III and IV. These families had all experienced wage-work under the supervision of Euro-Americans.

THE RESPONSES STUDIED

The investigator and his wife acted as participants in everyday family activities, interacting with the children and observing them in as many varied activities as possible. Narrative accounts, like those presented below, were written after leaving the situation. Subsequently, only those situations in which the observers judged that they did not exert a major influence were analyzed.

A child's responses in each situation were classified as an instance of one behavior pattern. Four behavior patterns together comprise a logically exhaustive classification. The behavior patterns are defined in relation to two tendencies which can be discerned in the functioning of the historic Ojibwa personality.

Historic Personality Functioning.[6] One of the tendencies which can be inferred

from the behavior of Ojibwa adults in the 19th century and earlier is the tendency *not to control or interfere with another in face-to-face interaction.* For example, conversation and the exchange of services, even between husband and wife or between good friends, were initiated with great hesitancy. Each person delayed and diverted his attention elswhere so as to allow the other to proceed with other matters if so inclined. Anger, even mild criticism, was rarely expressed to a person's face. Minimal cues were traditionally given when making a request: one indicated helplessness or looked at a desired object. Interaction of this type perhaps reflects and is reflected in the belief that the supernatural could not be controlled by man but only appealed to when in dire straits by emphasizing one's helplessness.

This is not to say that historic Ojibwa did not attempt to control others. But the best developed means for doing so were covert, or at least indirect; magic and sorcery were used to gain another's affection or to injure.

This tendency not to control overtly is conceived more generally in the present study as *ineffective* behavior, i.e., having no effect upon another.

The second tendency of the historic personality was *to comply with another's requests in face-to-face interaction.* This is inferred from observations that behavior was often influenced by the fear of another's use of sorcery. To avoid giving offence and provoking sorcery against oneself, the individual acted amiably, hospitably, and never refused another to his face, even when he subsequently failed to carry out a request. The tendency to comply with requests is conceived more generally as a tendency to respond overtly.[7] In the present study this tendency is defined as *responsive* behavior, i.e., carrying out all proposals and avoiding all conflicts.

It is assumed that an actor in historic

[6] The tendencies are described more fully in Boggs, *op. cit.*, Ch. 3. A survey of the early accounts of Ojibwa behavior is presented by Hallowell, *op. cit.*, Ch. 6.

[7] The tendencies to influence and to respond to influence are used in an attempt to define behavioral aspects of an "introverted" personality. They were suggested by Russell L. Ackoff in a personal communication to Thomas H. Hay. I am indebted to the latter for many stimulating discussions of this and other parts of the frame-of-reference.

times usually behaved simultaneously in both responsive and *ineffective* ways. As soon as one considers the interaction of two with such tendencies, however, it is apparent that someone was also effective. Furthermore, it would seem likely that being effective in a particular situation required being somewhat *unresponsive* as well, since the other would tend to comply without signifying anything to the actor. Therefore, *unresponsive*-effective behavior may also have been frequent.

Differences in role behavior must be considered in describing the historic personality in these terms. The accounts of early Ojibwa are relevant in only two cases: (1) powerful men (especially shamans) are described as behaving in an *unresponsive*-effective manner with less powerful individuals, and (2) anyone when drunk is described as behaving in this way, often with fearful destructiveness. It is assumed here that most adults and children had the potentialities for acting both ways in various situations, and did so, despite role differences.

Given this assumption, historic personality functioning can be defined as interacting overtly in *responsive*-ineffective and *unresponsive*-effective ways more frequently than in the alternative ways. Admittedly this statement is only partially supported by evidence. The definition is intended as an ideal type to increase the relevance of the behavior patterns studied.

Definition of the behavior patterns. The behavior patterns comprise a fourfold classification which dichotomizes a subject's acts according to their inferred stimuli and effect. Behavior which had any apparent immediate effect upon another was considered *effective;* that which did not was considered *ineffective.* Behavior which carried out all proposals and avoided all conflicts signified by another was considered *responsive;* that which did not was considered *unresponsive.*[8] Since the behavior

of a subject in a brief interaction may be effective (or not) and responsive (or not), it was classified both ways. The classification is presented in general terms in Table 1.

Each child's behavior in each situation was classified from the field notes after the field work was completed. Classification proceeded according to a standard set of interpretations. Insofar as possible the significance of every act was interpreted on the basis of its perceivable correlation with other events involving the same child and his parents. Wherever the investigator failed to understand the significance of an act in this sense, the situation was omitted from the sample.

TABLE 1. CLASSIFICATION OF A SUBJECT'S BEHAVIOR PATTERNS IN INTERACTION

Subject's Behavior	Has Some Effect Upon Another's Behavior	Has No Effect Upon Another's Behavior
Accords with all proposals and avoids all conflicts	responsive-effective	* responsive-ineffective
Does not accord with all proposals or avoid all conflicts	* unresponsive-effective	unresponsive-ineffective

* Allegedly typical Ojibwa behavior patterns.

Illustrations. The accounts below illustrate the two behavior patterns which are alleged to be typical of the historic personality. The interpretations necessary to the classification are also illustrated. The actor and behavior pattern are italicized in each example.

The *responsive-effective* behavior pattern:

(a) *Youngest girl* of Bird family is playing with her puppy. Mother tells her to bring it to her. Girl does. Mother puts baby down on the floor at her feet, makes puppy walk up to baby by holding up its front legs. Moves puppy until it just touches baby's face, then back. Three times. Girl watches fascinated. Mother then lets puppy go. Girl

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[8] The reader may want to relabel these concepts in more familiar terms. In Bales' terms *effective* behavior may be seen as an "initial act" which is followed by a "reaction." Similarly, *responsive* behavior may be seen as a "positive reaction." *Responsive* behavior is not, however, simply "re-

ceiving." See R. F. Bales, *Interaction Process Analysis,* Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Press, 1950, pp. 55–57 and 159–162.

Table 2. The Relative Frequency of Children's Behavior Patterns * in Interaction with Parents

Acculturation Level and Family	Infant (6–15 month)	Young Child (16 mos.–6 yrs.) Boy	Girl	Older Child (7–15 yrs.) Boy	Girl
I					
Bird	13 39		7 32	10 45	
	17 12		17 17	24 19	
	p less than .01		p less than .01	p less than .001	
			12 37		
			8 21		
II					
Mackenzie	11 18	15 25	4 15†	12 28	15 22
	13 13	33 20	12 11	11 19	7 12
	p equals .02		p less than .05		
Bear			38 69	3 16	
			35 56	5 11	
III					
Bozhu	2 14		19 9		
	14 8		10 24 (Reverse)		
	p less than .02		p less than .01		
			9 11		
			10 7		
			10 16		
			19 16		
Thunder			4 9†	2 23	6 15
			11 4	8 15	9 10
			p less than .05		
			3 23		
			4 14		
Wabung	3 16†		0 12		
	21 13		5 8		
	p less than .01		6 15		
			10 11		
IV					
Thomas	6 11		2 6		
	8 9		10 12		
Arnaud	16 28			8 24	10 15
	25 20			5 7	12 26
Nielson	4 7†		5 10†	4 14	4 8
	8 11		9 11	7 9	4 4
	6 10†				
	13 14				

* Arranged according to Table 1 for each child. Probability corresponding to corrected chi-square is given when less than .05.

† Interaction with older children only, or with adults and older children combined.

catches puppy and does the same thing mother did, carefully, as mother had done.

Interpretation: The girl's behavior was considered *ineffective* because playing with her puppy was not usually a condition for the mother's requesting it and because no specific act of the girl preceded the mother's release of the puppy. The girl's behavior was considered *responsive* because she did as she was told, she paid attention to the entertainment proposed, and she did not attempt to regain possession of the puppy until her

mother's interference with this end was obviated.

(b) Mother of Mackenzie family holds baby on her lap, facing out; *young boy* of family, in a communicative mood, sits near her, banging blocks on board floor of porch, where they sit. Then ceases banging, sucks on block. Mother continues as before.

The *unresponsive-effective* behavior pattern:

(c) *Baby* of Bird family in cradleboard frets. (Brother has just gone away after playing with him, both laughing.) Father gets up, gets plastic plate and gives it to him. Baby manipulates it for several minutes, then drops it and is quiet. (It was hard to hold and not tied onto cradleboard.) Frets. Looks "glazed." Father reaches over and rocks board. No change in baby's expression.

(d) Mother of Mackenzie family starts moving absently away from her house. When she has gone half a step, *young boy* turns towards her, puts up his arms and whimpers. She takes his hand and points towards her house. Boy puckers up and starts to cry, puts his arms up and leans against her legs. She repeats her motion. He then cries harder and more continuously. She stands expressionless, looking into space for some moments, then takes a slow step in the direction which she was going. He continues to press against her legs and begins to sob. Abruptly she jerks him into her arms, facing her, and carries him . . . about 300 yards, otherwise ignoring him.

Interpretation: The boy's behavior was considered *effective* because putting up his arms, whimpering, and crying were usually conditions for being picked up and taken along; they preceded mother's gestures and her taking him along eventually. His behavior was considered *unresponsive* because he did not go home as proposed and he continued the conflicting attempt to be picked up and taken along.

TECHNIQUES

Each of the interpretations ideally requires an explicit test of reliability and validity. Means for accomplishing this have yet to be worked out. At present the classifications must be regarded as having the accuracy of judgments by one observer well acquainted through interaction with each child.

A peripheral punch card was prepared for each of the situations observed. On each card the classification of the child's behavior pattern in that instance and the various interpretations required for this classification were recorded.

The relative frequency of the four behavior patterns was then estimated for each child on the basis of all observations of him. The number of occurrences of each behavior pattern was entered on a fourfold table. A chi-square was then calculated from the marginal totals of each table to test the following null hypothesis: that responsive-*ineffective* and unresponsive-effective patterns appeared no more frequently than they would by chance, given the proportion of all patterns which were responsive and the proportion which were effective.

FINDINGS

The relative acculturation of the families was presented above in describing the people under investigation. The effect of this acculturation upon children's interaction with parents is the next concern. These findings are derived from the analysis of 2024 observed situations which involved 32 infants and children with their parents.

Relative frequency of children's behavior patterns. Table 2 presents the number of times each of the four behavior patterns occurred for each child interacting with parents. It also presents all rejections of the null hypothesis. Such rejections, occurring when the probabilities of chance distribution are less than .05, indicate that responsive-*ineffective* and unresponsive-effective patterns may be more frequent than the alternative patterns, or vice versa.[9] All of the rejections which are found but one represent observed frequencies like those attributed to the historic personality.

As presented in Table 3, the majority of children manifest the historic patterns slightly more often than not. But if the estimate of relative frequency is made at the .05 confidence level (column 5), only

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[9] Statistical significance probably cannot be claimed for all of these estimates. In many cases the occurrence of a behavior pattern expected by chance was less than 10. Yate's correction for continuity was used when an expected frequency was 5 or less.

eight of the sample of 32 children can be said to function like historic personalities.

These estimates also indicate that personality functioning changes with acculturation, since fewer children manifest the historic type at each level of increasing acculturation. Other tests with the data indicate that young children become less responsive with increased acculturation, but on the whole, no more effective.[10] As a result either responsive-*ineffective* or *unresponsive*-effective behavior patterns, or both, appear relatively less often.

of level III and in none of the children of level IV.

CONCLUSIONS

The investigation suggests that far-reaching changes in the culture patterns of the Ojibwa families studied correlate with changes in the personality functioning of children in interaction with their parents. Certain patterns of interaction on the part of children become relatively less frequent in more-acculturated families. These patterns—(1) to be influenced when not influ-

TABLE 3. SUMMARY OF TESTS OF PERSONALITY FUNCTIONING BY LEVEL OF ACCULTURATION

Less to More Acculturated Levels	Number of Families	Number of Children	Number of Children Manifesting Historic Behavior Patterns More Often Than Not:		Mean Per Cent of Young Children's Behavior:	
			Absolutely	Significantly *	Responsive†	Ineffective
I and II	3	11	11	5	.515	.643
III	3	11	10	3	.500	.618
IV	3	10	8	0	.375	.592
Totals	9	32	29	8		

* Chi-square estimates which reject the null hypothesis at the .05 level.
† F ratio=6.59 with 2 and 14 d.f. p<.01.

Qualification about the use of the term "parents" here is necessary. They were defined as adults or older children who took a considerable part in the care of a child. Separate estimates were made of the relative frequency of a child's behavior patterns with both classes of parents. Table 2 reports the interaction with adult parents only, except as noted.

Functioning like that of the historic personality was most definite for children of the less-acculturated families interacting with adults. Thus it appeared in interaction with adults only in four of eleven children of levels I and II, but in only one infant

encing another and (2) not to be influenced when influencing another—may have been typical of historic Ojibwa and appear to be typical of a larger proportion of present-day children in the least-acculturated families studied.

This conclusion must be qualified operationally. The relative frequencies have been estimated from observed responses. In many cases these responses were few in number. They were classified by means of interpretations whose validity and reliability have yet to be demonstrated.

If the conclusion is valid, then it can be inferred that acculturation has in some way affected the personality formation of Ojibwa, since the child's functioning in interaction with parents is assumed to be a part of this process. This means, in reference to Hallowell's finding of a persistent introverted personality type, that this type is maintained despite changes in the process of personality formation, as here studied. Put another way, the present findings make it appear unlikely that the typical features of Ojibwa personality defined here persist

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[10] Results of all significant and appropriate F tests are presented in Table 3. The variation between levels in the average per cent responsive is significantly greater than the variation within levels for young children. The comparison for infants points in the same direction, but there are too few individuals for a separate test. The F value for all children falls short of significance at the .05 level. There are no significant differences between levels in the per cent of behavior patterns classified *ineffective*.

because of unaltered personality formation in childhood.[11]

Changes of personality characteristics, on the other hand, can be traced to personality formation in childhood. Specifically, the lowered psychological integration found by Hallowell may relate to the increasing unresponsiveness of children to parents and to their tendency to respond less frequently by either "taking things as they come" or influencing the parent despite conflict.

The immediate causes of change in the personality functioning of children are not analyzed here. But one might speculate that they involve an interplay between personality formation in childhood and adulthood, set in motion by the altered conditions of life accompanying acculturation. For example, in the present study it was suggested that children became less responsive. Would this make them less responsive as parents?

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[11] If introverted is defined as *ineffective,* then this conclusion must be reversed. But the author would argue that ineffectiveness alone is an inadequate definition of the historic personality type.

If so, the continued ineffectiveness found for children would have a partial explanation in adult personality changes. It was also suggested that culture patterns involving subsistence, kinship, and religion differentiated families with regard to traditional parent-child relationships. These patterns involve major adult roles in any culture. If they were seriously altered over one to three generations, as was the case with most of the Ojibwa studied, would this affect the organization of adult personality? An effect like the obscuring of the self image could well be expressed in lesser responsiveness or greater inconsistency with their children.

Finally, to the extent that culture patterns are necessary conditions for the persistence of child-parent interaction patterns, then it may be meaningful to state that culture determines personality. Some evidence for this proposition is presented above for one case. Studies of other cultures undergoing change will reveal whether these findings are local and unique or have wider application.

CHANGES IN STATUS AND AGE IDENTIFICATION *

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THE conceptions individuals have of themselves as young, middle-aged, or old are, of course, related to their actual age. People in their sixties are certainly more likely than people in their thirties to think of themselves as old. But the variations in age identification between persons in the same age group and the similarities between those whose actual age differs indicate that chronological age is only a limiting condition and does not fully explain the changes in age identification that occur in the course of the individual's life span.

In this paper two topics will be discussed: first, the relative influence of chronological age and age identificatior. on other aspects of the self-image of older persons, and second, some of the social factors that hasten or forestall changes in age identification among older people.

A representative sample of 468 people 60 years old and over in Elmira, New York, were asked: "How do you think of yourself as far as age goes—middle-aged, elderly, old, or what?" Fully 60 per cent of the respondents considered themselves middle-aged, 38 per cent described themselves as old, elderly, or used an equivalent euphemism, and 2 per cent gave no answer to the question.

Of course, the likelihood that people consider themselves old rather than middle-aged steadily increases as they grow older. Under 65, only 18 per cent define themselves as old, between 65 and 70, 37 per cent do so, but in the age group of 70 and over this propor-

tion rises to 59 per cent. Old age is, after all, something more than a state of mind, since the aging process is marked by objective physical and behavioral changes. Although these changes usually occur gradually and, therefore, do not immediately intrude upon the consciousness of the individual, one might expect that they become increasingly apparent to him and his associates as the years pass and thus finally bring about identification with old people. Indeed, when asked "How much have you changed in the past 10 or 15 years—would you say hardly at all, somewhat or a good deal?" less than a fifth of those under 70, compared to a third of those who are 70 and over, feel that they have changed "a good deal." (See Table 1.)

TABLE 1. PER CENT WHO PERCEIVE "A GOOD DEAL" OF CHANGE IN SELF BY AGE IDENTIFICATION AND AGE

| Age | Age Identification | | |
	Middle-aged	Old	Total
Under 70	15 (206)	42 (31)	18* (273)
70 and over	22 (73)	40 (88)	33* (175)

* This difference is significant on the .01 level. Numbers in parentheses in all tables are the numbers of cases on which percentages are based.

However, if age identification is held constant, this relationship between chronological age and perceived change in oneself tends to disappear. These findings suggest that while objective changes mark the aging process, a shift in age identification is a crucial intervening variable for perceiving them. Not all older people, but only those who have shifted their age identification, are likely to perceive these changes in themselves.[1] It seems that neither the knowledge of their years, nor even their white hair and wrinkles, induce

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[1] Although it is not known whether the shift in age identification or the perception of changes in self occurs first, there is some indirect evidence on this point. It was shown in the text that the relationship between chronological age and perception of changes in the self disappears when age identification is held constant. But if perceived change in self is held constant, the relationship between age and age identification persists. This suggests that a shift in age identification precedes and produces an increased awareness of changes in the self, and not vice-versa. For a discussion of this method of inferring the direction of influence between two variables see Peter M. Blau, "Determining the Dependent Variable in Certain Correlations," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 19 (Spring, 1955), pp. 100–105.

older people to perceive that they have changed. As Proust writes:

> It does us no good to know that the years go by, that youth gives way to old age, that the most stable thrones and fortunes crumble, that fame is ephemeral—our way of forming a conception—and so to speak, taking a photograph of this moving universe, hurried along by time, seeks on the contrary to make it stand still.[2]

And so, to borrow Proust's metaphor, it is the conception of himself as old, and not the weight of his years as such, that constrains the older person to relinquish the photograph and reluctantly to substitute the mirror.

A similar phenomenon can be observed in respect to the older person's beliefs about the image his significant others have of him. The older people are, the more frequently do they answer affirmatively when asked, "Do you think that the people you see and care most about think of you as an old man (woman)?"

TABLE 2. PER CENT SAYING THAT SIGNIFICANT OTHERS CONSIDER THEM OLD BY AGE IDENTIFICATION AND AGE

| Age | Age Identification | | |
	Middle-aged	Old	Total
Under 70	7 (206)	45 (31)	13* (276)
70 and over	14 (73)	50 (88)	32* (187)

* This difference is significant on the .01 level.

Only about one eighth of those under 70, but a third of those who are 70 and over feel that their close associates consider them old. (See Table 2.) This relationship, however, also tends to disappear if the age identification of respondents is controlled. In other words, regardless of their actual age, people come to believe that *others* consider them old only if they consider *themselves* old.[3]

In sum, various mental states that characterize older people, and distinguish them from others are actually precipitated by shifts in age identification from middle-aged to old. The important question consequently

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[2] Marcel Proust, *Remembrance of Things Past*, New York: Random House, 1927, Vol. 2, p. 1063.

[3] If, instead of controlling age identification, the beliefs respondents hold about the attitudes of their significant others are controlled, the relationship between age and age identification remains, which indicates that the sequence suggested in the text is the correct one.

becomes: What are the social conditions that hasten or forestall such shifts in age identification? The rest of the discussion will be devoted to an examination of this question.

In youth and middle-age, the loss of one social status is generally accompanied by entry into another. For example, the status of student is relinquished for a position in the occupational structure, or the young women may give up her career to become a wife and mother. In contrast, retirement and widowhood, the two major status changes that typically occur in old age, designate the permanent loss of two crucially important social roles and the activities and relationships that define them.[4] It could be expected that these changes in social status of older persons are responsible for shifts in age identification among them, but the data only partly confirm this expectation.

Retirants, at each age level, do indeed con-

TABLE 3. PER CENT IDENTIFIED AS OLD BY AGE AND EMPLOYMENT STATUS

Employment Status	Age Under 70	Age 70 and Over	Total
Employed	18 (136)	41 (37)	24 (170)
Retired	37 (41)	67 (57)	57 (93)

All differences are significant on the .05 level.

sider themselves old more frequently than those who are still employed, but the widowed are not significantly different from the married in this respect. Under 70, less than a fifth of the employed, but more than a third of the retirants identify themselves as old. Among those who are 70 and over, 41 per cent of the employed, but fully two thirds of the retired, regard themselves as old. (See Table 3.) In contrast, at each age level, widowed people consider themselves old hardly more often than those who are still married. (See Table 4.)

The remark of a retirant suggests one of the reasons why retirement predisposes the older person to define himself as old.

When did I start to feel old? Why when I stopped working. I was always real proud that I'd come to Chicago and got a job and sup-

ported myself. Then when I couldn't work anymore, why I wasn't good for anything.[5]

Retirement is a *social* pattern which implies an invidious judgment on the part of others in the society about the lack of fitness of *old* people to perform a culturally significant role, whereas the death of the marital partner, being a natural event, and not a socially induced one, does not have such implications in our culture. Thus, the retired individual, but not the widowed one has reason to believe that he is socially defined as old.

Furthermore, retirement removes the individual from a social peer group and thereby disrupts the informal relations developed on the job. The death of the marital partner, on the other hand, disrupts a single, albeit a very significant, social relationship.[6] In other words, the hypothesis is suggested that loss of membership in a peer *group* has more pronounced effects on the self-image of older people than the loss of an intimate interpersonal relationship, and that this helps to explain the differential effect of retirement and widowhood on age identification.

This hypothesis can be tested by determining whether membership in a friendship clique is, indeed, more significant for age identification than relationships with individual friends.

TABLE 4. PER CENT IDENTIFIED AS OLD BY AGE AND MARITAL STATUS

Marital Status	Age Under 70	Age 70 and Over	Total
Married	22 (160)	55 (65)	33 (218)
Widowed	26 (81)	60 (99)	46 (173)

Respondents were asked three questions about their social participation: "How many really close friends do you have here in town that you occasionally talk over confidential matters with?" "Now think of the friend that you know best here in town—how often

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[4] For a brief, but suggestive discussion of this point see Talcott Parsons, "Age and Sex in the Social Structure of the United States," *American Sociological Review*, 7 (October, 1942), pp. 604–616.

[5] From an interview in William H. Harlan, "Isolation and Conduct in Later Life," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1950.

[6] Of course, under some conditions, widowhood may also have a detrimental effect on group memberships of the individual. For example, the surviving marital partner may drop out of those friendship groups in which the marital couple had participated jointly, or discontinue membership in "auxiliary" organizations, that is, where participation of the wife is contingent on that of her husband.

do you get to see that friend?" and "Would you say you go around with a certain bunch of close friends who visit back and forth in each other's homes?"

Neither the number of friendships nor the frequency of contact with the closest friend is significantly related to age identification. But older people who belong to a friendship clique consider themselves old significantly less often than those who do not participate

TABLE 5. PER CENT IDENTIFIED AS OLD BY AGE AND MEMBERSHIP IN A FRIENDSHIP GROUP

| Friendship Group | Age | | |
	Under 70	70 and Over	Total
Member	20 (115)	49 (53)	29* (168)
Non-member	24 (164)	63 (136)	41* (300)

* This difference is significant on the .05 level.

in such a group. Only 29 per cent of the members, in contrast to 41 per cent of the non-members regard themselves as old. (See Table 5.) However, this relationship may be a spurious one, since, as they grow older, people tend to participate less in friendship groups, and they also are more likely to think of themselves as old.

Indeed, when age is controlled, the relationship between clique membership and age identification disappears among those who are under 70. The vast majority under 70 still define themselves as middle-aged whether or not they belong to a friendship group. But among people who are 70 and over clique membership makes a considerable difference for age identification. Only half of those who participate in a friendship group, but nearly two thirds of the others consider themselves old.

The fact that participation in a friendship clique makes no difference for age identification in the younger group only *appears* to refute the hypothesis that group memberships are more effective in forestalling old age than single relationships. Actually, this hypothesis helps to explain why participation in a friendship clique is less important in the younger than in the older age group. People under 70 are likely to have alternative group memberships. For example, since a majority of the men in this age group are still employed, they participate in work groups and other occupational groups. Younger women, as well, participate more in clubs and organ-

izations than those who are older. Thus, it makes little difference whether or not they also participate in a friendship group as such. But after 70, when participation in these other social groups is the exception rather than the rule, the person's position in a friendship group becomes more important in forestalling a shift in age identification.

Similarly, the belief that his close associates consider him old is influenced by the individual's participation in a social peer group, but not by the number of friends he has. Regardless of their age, those who belong to such a group less often hold this belief than those who do not. (See Table 6.) Indeed, among people 70 and over, two thirds of the clique members, compared to less than half of the others, deny that their associates consider them old.

These indications that participation in a

TABLE 6. PER CENT DENYING THAT SIGNIFICANT OTHERS CONSIDER THEM OLD BY AGE AND MEMBERSHIP IN A FRIENDSHIP GROUP

| Friendship Group | Age | | |
	Under 70	70 and Over	Total
Member	87 (115)	64* (53)	80† (168)
Non-member	73 (164)	45* (135)	60† (300)

* This difference is significant on the .05 level.
† This difference is significant on the .01 level.

social group more effectively forestalls the psychological changes that mark old age than participation in a number of dyadic relationships can be explained by the emergent properties that characterize social groups. Studies of various types of small groups by Roethlisberger and Dickson, Whyte, Homans and Bales,[7] show that recurrent interaction between individuals tends to fix the role of each member relative to the others in the group. The images and expectations that arise among the group members tend to persist and to influence their subsequent behavior toward one an-

[7] See F. J. Roethlisberger and William J. Dickson, *Management and the Worker*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930; William F. Whyte, *Street Corner Society*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943; George C. Homans, *The Human Group*, New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1950; and Robert F. Bales, *et al.*, "Channels of Communication in Small Groups," *American Sociological Review*, 16 (August, 1951), pp. 461–468.

other. This stability of the network of relationships within a group of friends or co-workers prevents mutual awareness of gradual alterations that take place in each of the participants, particularly if these changes in the person do not interfere with his ability to share in the activities of the group. Consequently, the recurrent gatherings of the same people lend a sense of continuity to the life of each participant. An incongruous but revealing manifestation of this feeling of immutability provided by the groups is the practice of people who have grown old together to continue to refer to themselves as "the boys" or "the girls."

Participation in a friendship group does, indeed, serve to postpone shifts in age identification, and this provides support for the hypothesis that loss of the work group is one of the reasons why retirement influences the age identification of older persons more than widowhood. Further clarification of these relationships can be achieved by simultaneously comparing the relative impact of widowhood and retirement on age identification among those who do and do not participate in a friendship group.

TABLE 7. PER CENT IDENTIFIED AS OLD BY MEMBERSHIP IN A FRIENDSHIP GROUP AND MARITAL STATUS

| Marital Status | Friendship Group | | |
	Member	Non-member	Total
Married	29 (85)	35* (133)	33 (?18)
Widowed	34 (53)	51* (121)	46 (173)
Difference	5	16	

* This difference, as well as that between proportions among totals, is significant on the .05 level.

Table 7 shows the relationship between friendship group, marital status, and age identification. Among those who are part of a friendship group, widowed people consider themselves old, hardly more often than married ones—34 per cent as against 29 per cent, a difference of only 5 per cent. However, among those who are not clique members, the widowed define themselves as old considerably more often than the married—51 per cent as against 35 per cent, a difference of 16 per cent. The death of the marital partner, even though it is a natural event, is more likely to precipitate "old age," if the elderly person does not participate in a a friendship group.

Membership in a friendship clique has similar implications for age identification following retirement. (See Table 8.) Among those who do not belong to a friendship group, nearly two-thirds of the retired, compared to only a quarter of the employed consider themselves old, a difference of 37 per cent. Loss of employment status makes less difference if people are members of a friendship group: 42 per cent of the retired and 21 per cent of the employed feel that they are old—a difference of 21 per cent. Thus, either change in social status is less likely to produce identification with the

TABLE 8. PER CENT IDENTIFIED AS OLD BY MEMBERSHIP IN A FRIENDSHIP GROUP AND EMPLOYMENT STATUS

| Employment Status | Friendship Group | | |
	Member	Non-member	Total
Employed	21 (66)	25* (104)	24 (170)
Retired	42 (24)	62* (69)	57 (93)
Difference	21	37	

* This difference, as well as that between proportions among totals, is significant on the .01 level.

"old" if the older person maintains his position in a group of peers. However, the friendship group is less effective in preventing the consequences of retirement than those of widowhood. Among those who have a group of friends, twice as many of the retired as of the employed consider themselves old, but hardly any more of the widowed than of the married do so.

Thus, the data that support one of the two explanatory hypotheses advanced to account for the finding that retirement influences the age identification of older people more than widowhood, furnish indirect evidence for the other one as well. Group memberships are indeed more effective than even intimate dyadic relations in postponing identification with the old, but this factor alone does not account for the differential effects of retirement and widowhood on age identification. Loss of employment status, as a socially induced event, implies a judgment on the part of others that an individual is old, and this is an additional reason why it influences his age identification more than does widowhood, which, as a natural event, is devoid of such a social judgment in our culture.

To summarize: The socio-psychological

and physical aging processes can be analytically distinguished. Age identification rather than actual age constrains older people to recognize changes in themselves and to perceive that the attitudes of others toward them have changed. Analysis revealed that of the two major changes in social status that commonly occur in old age—retirement and widowhood—only retirement appears to hasten the onset of old age. Two hypotheses were advanced to explain this difference: one, retirement implies a social judgment that the person has become old, whereas widowhood, because it comes about through a natural event, does not have this implication for the older person; two, retirement has more serious consequences for age identification because it removes the individual from a significant peer group, whereas death of the spouse directly disrupts only a single, albeit a highly significant, relationship. The finding that participation in a friendship group serves to forestall a shift in age identification, but that the number of close friends and the frequency of contact with one's closest friend do not, provides support for the second hypothesis. However, the fact that participation in a friendship group appears to be less effective in retarding shifts in age identification among the retired than among the widowed indicates that the loss of the work group only partially explains the greater influence that retirement exerts an age identification. It, therefore, furnishes inferential evidence for the first hypothesis that the cultural evaluation implied by retirement, but not by widowhood, tends to force the person to recognize that he is socially defined as old.

THE ACHIEVEMENT SYNDROME: A PSYCHOCULTURAL DIMENSION OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION *

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THE empirical generalization that upward mobility is greater among members of the middle class than those of the lower strata has been explained in several alternative ways.[1] It has been suggested, for example, that social strata possess different physical characteristics which affect mobility, that as a result of certain selective processes persons in the upper and middle strata are, on the average, more intelligent, healthier, and more attractive than those in the lower strata.[2] More frequently, differential mobility is described as a function of the relative opportunities available to individuals in the social structure. This structural dimension of stratification is explicit in the "life chances" hypothesis in which it is argued that money, specialized training, and prestigeful contacts —factors which affect access to high position—are relatively inaccessible to individuals in the lower social strata.[3] Such explanations are relevant and consistent with one another. They lack exhaustiveness, however, since neither explanation takes into account the possibility that there may be psychological and cultural factors which affect social mobility by influencing the individual's willing-

[1] *Cf.* N. Rogoff, *Recent Trends in Occupational Mobility*, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1953; K. B. Mayer, *Class and Society*, New York: Doubleday, 1955; R. Albrecht, "Social Class in Old Age," *Social Forces*, 29 (May, 1951), pp. 400–405.

[2] *Cf.* P. Sorokin, *Social Mobility*, New York: Harper and Bros., 1927. For the relationship of intelligence to social mobility see, C. A. Anderson, *et al.*, "Intelligence and Occupational Mobility," *Journal of Political Economy*, 60 (June, 1952), pp. 218–239.

[3] Factors of this sort have been abundantly studied. See H. Pfautz, "The Current Literature on Social Stratification: Critique and Bibliography," *American Journal of Sociology*, 58 (January, 1953), especially pages 401–404.

ness to develop and exploit his talent, intelligence, and opportunities.

It is the thesis of this paper that class differential rates of vertical mobility may be explicated also in terms of a psychocultural dimension of stratification, that is, as a function of differences in the motives and values of social classes.[4] More specifically, this study examines empirically the notion (long current in sociology, but for which there is as yet insufficient empirical verification) that social classes in American society are characterized by a dissimilar concern with achievement, particularly as it is expressed in the striving for status through social mobility.[5] It is hypothesized that social classes possess to a disparate extent two components of this achievement orientation. The first is a psychological factor involving a personality characteristic called *achievement motivation* (or, in Murray's terminology, *need achievement*) which provides an internal impetus to excel. The second is a cultural factor consisting of certain *value orientations* which define and implement achievement motivated behavior. Both of these factors are related to achievement; their incidence, we suggest, is greater among persons of the middle class than those in the lower class.

[4] A review of recent investigations of some psychocultural dimensions of social stratification can be found in H. Pfautz, *op. cit.* While a number of personality correlates of social class have been delineated, there have been no studies of the relationship of class to the achievement motive as such, though C. W. Mills' notion of the "competitive personality" comes closest to approximating the personality characteristic examined in this study. See his, *White Collar*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1953. Of the many studies of the cultural correlates of social class, two which have particular relevance for the problem examined in this paper are H. Hyman, "The Value System of Different Classes: A Social Psychological Contribution to the Analysis of Stratification," in R. Bendix and S. Lipset (editors), *Class, Status and Power*, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1953; and T. Parsons, "A Revised Analytical Approach to the Theory of Social Stratification," in Bendix and Lipset, *op. cit.*

[5] A. Green in his introductory text, *Sociology*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1952, regards the middle class' high level of achievement drive, as expressed through status striving, as its single most pronounced characteristic. However, the data to support this conclusion are largely of an anecdotal, or highly qualitative nature. See C. W. Mills, *op. cit.*; A. Davis, B. Gardner, and M. Gardner, *Deep South*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941.

The task of this paper is threefold: (1) to make a preliminary attempt at determining whether social strata are dissimilar with respect to these two factors by examining their incidence among a group of randomly selected adolescents stratified by social position, (2) to indicate the significance of these factors for differential occupational achievement, and (3) to suggest some class related origins of achievement motivation and values.

RESEARCH PROCEDURE

The universe from which the study sample was drawn is the entire male population of sophomores in two large public high schools in the New Haven area. This group was stratified by the social position of the main wage-earner in the family (in most cases the father) through data secured by questionnaire and according to a scheme developed by Hollingshead.[6] His Index of Social Position utilizes three factors: (1) occupation, (2) education, and (3) ecological area of residence. Each factor is scaled and assigned a weight determined by a standard regression equation. The combined scores group themselves in five clusters (social strata) and to each of these a numerical index is assigned. The highest status group is labeled Class I; the others follow in numerical order, Class V being the lowest. Respondents were drawn randomly from each stratum: 5 subjects from Class I (the entire Class I Sophomore population in the two schools), 25 from Class II, and 30 each from Classes III, IV, and V. In all there are 120 subjects, all of them white, ages 14 through 16; the modal age is 15.

It was hypothesized that social strata are dissimilar with respect to two factors related to achievement: that is, achievement motivation and achievement value orientation. By achievement motivation we mean an anticipation of an increase in affect aroused by cues in situations involving standards of excellence. The behavior of people highly motivated for achievement is persistent striving activity, aimed at attaining a high goal in some area involving competition with a standard of excellence. In relation to these standards of excellence the achievement ori-

[6] For a fuller exposition of this scheme see, A. Hollingshead and F. C. Redlich, "Social Stratification and Psychiatric Disorders," *American Sociological Review*, 18 (April, 1953), pp. 163–169.

ented person directs his efforts towards obtaining the pleasure of success and avoiding the pain of failure. Value orientations are defined (following the manner described in William's *American Society*) as meaningful and affectively charged modes of organizing behavior, as principles that guide human conduct. They establish the criteria which influence the individual's preferences and goals; they act as spectacles through which the individual sees himself and his environment. Two techniques were employed to measure these factors. A projective test (a technique which does not rely upon the person's self knowledge) was used to measure the adolescent's achievement motivation; the direct questionnaire was used to measure his values.

The personality correlate of achievement called "achievement motivation" has been investigated by McClelland and his associates.[7] Using a Thematic Apperception Test type measure, they have developed a projective test whose scoring system is designed to detect and measure the degree to which a person thinks about and is emotionally involved in competitive task behavior that is evaluated against a standard of excellence. As is customary in the TAT testing procedure, the subject is presented with a set of fairly ambiguous pictures and asked to tell a story about each of them. His imaginative responses are then scored for evidences of achievement motivation. Two criteria must be satisfied before a story can be scored as containing achievement imagery. First, the events and people in the stories must show some evaluation of individual performance in relation to and competition with a standard of excellence, e.g.: "The boy has done a *good* job in the exam." Second, some affect, either positive or negative, must be connected with the evaluated performance, e.g.: "He is *unhappy* because he lost the essay contest." It is the assumption of the test that the more the individual shows indications of evaluated performance connected with affect in unstructured situations the greater the degree to which achievement motivation is part of his personality.

This projective test was administered to

the subjects in the following standardized way. Subjects were assembled during the school day in small groups (20 to 30 persons) in a school room equipped with a screen and a slide projector. The test administrator explained to the students that they were going to see a series of pictures and that their task was to write a story about each picture. In his instructions to the subjects the administrator made no effort to manipulate the motive of the students. Since all testing was done in the school, it was expected that each boy would bring to the test his normal achievement motivation level induced by the cues of the school. The same administrator was used throughout the tests.[8]

Following the test, the subjects were asked to fill out a structured questionnaire, part of which contained items (the content of which is described in a later section of this paper) designed to index their value orientations. These items took the form of statements with which the subjects were asked to agree or disagree, and are centered around certain kinds of values that we felt are related to scholastic and vocational achievement.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

Social Stratification and the Achievement Motive. The findings of this study support the hypothesis that social strata differ from one another in the degree to which the achievement motive is characteristic of their

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[7] D. McClelland, S. Atkinson, R. Clark, and E. Lowell, *The Achievement Motive*, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1953.

[8] Experiments have shown that motivation scores vary with the conditions under which the test is given. The kind of instructions preceding the test are known to affect the test scores. These instructions are basically of three kinds: *achievement-oriented* instructions which produce cues aimed at increasing the score; *relaxed* instructions which tend to de-emphasize the arousal of the motive; and *neutral* instructions that are aimed at obtaining a measure of the normal level of motivation a subject brings to a situation. Instructions used in this study were of the neutral type. The impact of the school situation had upon the scores is unknown, but we believe that in effect this factor was controlled since all subjects were tested in the same situation. Further information on the various methods for administering this test, and their significance for the test results, can be found in D. McClelland, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, Ch. 3. The test protocols were scored by two judges. The Pearson product moment correlation between the two scorings was plus .89, an estimate of scoring reliability similar to those reported in earlier studies with this measure.

members. Furthermore, the data indicate that members of the middle class tend to have considerably higher need achievement scores than individuals in the lower social strata. Plotted on a graph, the mean achievement scores of the social classes fall along a regression curve: the highest mean score in Class II (the group most likely to be described as middle class when the trichotomy of upper, middle, and lower class is used), a somewhat lower score in Class I, and progressively lower scores in an almost linear fashion in Classes III, IV, and V. Reading in numerical order from Class I to V, the mean score for each class is 8.40, 8.68, 4.97, 3.40, and 1.87. The mean score for Class II is more than four times as great as the score for Class V.[9]

A test of the statistical significance of this association between social position and achievement motivation is shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1. ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION BY SOCIAL CLASS

Achievement Motivation Score	Social Class			
	I and II	III	IV	V
	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent
Low	17	57	70	77
High	83	43	30	23
Number	(30)	(30)	(30)	(30)

χ^2: 26.6.
$P < .001$.

In order to simplify presentation, subjects whose scores fall below the approximate median for the entire sample are categorized as having low achievement motivation;[10]

[9] In a study of personality and value differences between upper-class Harvard freshmen (private school graduates) and middle-class freshmen (public school graduates), C. McArthur, "Personality Differences Between Middle and Upper Classes," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 50 (March, 1955), pp. 247–254, found that the need achievement level of the middle-class was significantly higher than that of the upper-class. The difference between the two groups in the writer's study was in the same direction noted by McArthur, but was not statistically significant. However, since sampling methods, TAT pictures, and scoring procedures used in the two studies are different, the data are not comparable.

[10] Four pictures were used in this study. The approximate median score for the entire sample was + 4. Sixty-six subjects have a score of + 4 or less; fifty-four subjects a score of + 5 or more.

Classes I and II are collapsed into one group because of the scarcity of cases in Class I.[11] The data indicate a clear relationship between social position and motivation score. For example, 83 per cent of the subjects in Classes I and II have high motivation scores, as compared with 23 per cent in Class V, a difference that is statistically significant at the .001 level.

Social Stratification and Value Orientation. In itself the achievement motive is not a sufficient cause of upward mobility. Obviously the lack of innate capacity and/or structural opportunities may frustrate the achievement drive, but in addition there are cultural factors which are related to mobility. Among these factors are certain values which affect mobility in that they provide a definition of goals, focus the attention of the individual on achievement, and prepare him to translate motive into action. For example, before the achievement motive can be translated into the kinds of action that are conducive to culturally defined achievement (and hence operate as a factor in social mobility), there must be some definition of the kinds of situations in which achievement is expected and of the goals to which one should or may aspire.

Achievement oriented situations and goals are not defined by the achievement motive; it may provide the impetus to excel, but it does not delineate the areas in which such excellence should or may take place. Achievement motivation can be expressed through a wide range of behavior, some of which may not be conducive to social mobility in our society. The achievement motive can be, and perhaps frequently is, expressed through non-vocational behavior, for example lay religious activity of an individual whose drive to excel finds release through piety or mastery of sacred literature; or it may find an outlet in non-professional "hobby-type"

Scores ranged from — 4 to + 15. It should be understood that the terms "high" and "low" used in this study do not refer to absolute standards but to relative ranks for individuals in this sample. As yet there are not sufficient data to permit the setting up of norms for broad cross-sections of the population for either achievement motivation or value orientation.

[11] Analysis of the data in which persons in Classes I and II are examined together in one cell or part reveals that the conclusions noted above are not affected when the cells are collapsed.

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behavior. Even when expressed through vocational activity, the achievement motive may be canalized into culturally defined deviant occupations (e.g. the criminal), or into low status vocations (e.g. the individual whose achievement drive is expressed and satisfied through his desire to be the *best* welder among his peers). Whether the individual will elect to strive for success in situations which facilitate mobility in our society will, in part, be determined by his values.

Furthermore, before the achievement motive can be expressed in culturally defined success behavior, there needs to be more than a desire to achieve success; there must also be some awareness of and willingness to undertake the steps necessary for achievement. Such steps involve, among other things, a preparedness to plan, to work, and to make sacrifices. Whether the individual will understand their importance and accept them will, in part, be affected by his values. It must follow, therefore, that differential inter-class rates of mobility cannot be entirely explained as a function of differences in achievement motivation; social classes must also be shown to differ in their possession of these implementary values necessary to achievement.

The notion that social classes possess dissimilar values as part of their distinctive sub-cultures has been suggested by a number of investigators, for example, the Kluckhohns, who have delineated a wide range of differences in the value systems of social strata in American society.[12] In Florence Kluckhohn's schema [13] these values are part of a configuration of value orientations which grow out of man's effort to solve five basic problems that are everywhere immanent in the human situation. While all five of Kluckhohn's orientations are relevant to the prob-

lem of achievement, three were selected as especially pertinent for examination in this study: (1) what is the accepted approach to the problem of mastering one's physical and social environment, (2) what is the significant time dimension, and (3) what is the dominant modality of relationship of the individual to his kin. We were interested in determining whether social classes are dissimilar in their possession of these orientations. A brief description of their content (modified somewhat from the way in which they appear in the Kluckhohn schema), and examples of the items used to index each of them, are as follows: [14]

1. *Activistic-passivistic orientation* concerns the extent to which a society or sub-group encourages the individual to believe in the possibility of his manipulating the physical and social environment to his advantage. In an activistic society the individual is encouraged to believe that it is both possible and necessary for him to improve his status, whereas a passivistic-orientation promotes the acceptance of the notion that individual efforts to achieve mobility are relatively futile.

> Item 1. "All I want out of life in the way of a career is a secure, not too difficult job, with enough pay to afford a nice car and eventually a home of my own."
> Item 2. "When a man is born the success he is going to have is already in the cards,

[14] In all fourteen items were used to index certain of the adolescent's values and perceptions. The nine additional items are as follows:

1. Even though parents often seem too strict, when a person gets older he will realize it was beneficial.
2. If my parents told me to stop seeing a friend of my own sex, I'd see that friend anyway.
3. Parents seem to believe that you can't take the opinion of a teenager seriously.
4. Parents would be greatly upset if their son ended up doing factory work.
5. It's silly for a teenager to put money in a car when the money could be used to get started in a business or for an education.
6. The best kind of job is one where you are part of an organization all working together, even if you don't get individual credit.
7. Education and learning are more important in determining a person's happiness than money and what it will buy.
8. When the time comes for a boy to take a job, he should stay near his parents even if it means giving up a good job.
9. Even when teenagers get married their main loyalty still belongs to their mother and father.

[12] C. Kluckhohn and F. Kluckhohn, "American Culture: Generalized Orientations and Class Patterns" in *Conflicts of Power in Modern Culture*, edited by L. Bryson, *et al.*, Harper and Bros., 1947. See also, M. Gordon, "*Kitty Foyle* and the Concept of Class as Culture," *American Journal of Sociology*, 53 (November, 1947), pp. 210–217. Other investigators are cited in H. Pfautz, *op. cit.*, pp. 403–404.

[13] F. Kluckhohn, "Dominant and Substitute Profiles of Cultural Orientations: Their Significance for the Analysis of Social Stratification," *Social Forces*, 28 (May, 1950), pp. 376–393.

so he might just as well accept it and not fight against it."

2. *Present-future orientation* concerns a society's attitude toward time and its impact upon behavior. A present-oriented society stresses the merit of living in the present with an emphasis upon immediate gratifications; a future-oriented society urges the individual to believe that planning and present sacrifices are worthwhile, or morally obligatory, in order to insure future gains.

Item 3. "Planning only makes a person unhappy since your plans hardly ever work out anyway."

Item 4. "Nowadays with world conditions the way they are the wise person lives for today and lets tomorrow take care of itself."

3. *Familistic-individualistic orientation* concerns the relationship of the individual to his kin. One aspect of this orientation is the importance given to the maintenance of physical proximity to the family of orientation. In a familistically-oriented society the individual is not urged, or perhaps not permitted, to acquire independence of family ties. An individualistically-oriented society does not expect the individual to maintain the kinds of affective ties which will impede his mobility.

Item 5. "Nothing in life is worth the sacrifice of moving away from your parents."

Responses which indicate an activistic, future-oriented, individualistic point of view (the answer "disagree" to these items) are considered those which reflect values most likely to facilitate achievement and social mobility. These items were used to form a value index, and a score was derived for each subject by giving a point for each achievement oriented response.[15]

An analysis of the data supports the hypothesis that the middle class is characterized by a larger proportion of persons with achievement oriented values than are the lower social strata. The plotting of mean value scores for each class reveals an almost linear relationship between social position and values: the higher the class the higher the value score. Thus the mean scores for the five social strata are in descending order,

[15] The writer is indebted to an earlier, somewhat different scale (based in part on work done by the writer as a member of the "Cultural Factors in Talent Development" project), put together by Fred L. Strodtbeck.

TABLE 2. VALUE ORIENTATIONS BY SOCIAL CLASS

Value Score	Social Class			
	I and II	III	IV	V
	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent
Low	23	30	67	83
High	77	70	33	17
Number	(30)	(30)	(30)	(30)

χ^2: 28.9.
$P < .001$.

with Class I first and Class V last, 4.6, 4.1, 3.8, 3.0 and 2.5. This relationship is shown to be statistically significant in Table 2 in which social position is cross-tabulated with value score. To simplify presentation value scores are dichotomized: respondents whose score falls above the approximate median for the entire sample are designated as having a high score. The data reveal that of those adolescents in Class I or II, 77 per cent score high on the value scale, as compared with 17 per cent of the adolescents in Class V. For the entire table, the probability of this level of association occuring by chance is less than one out of a thousand.

Achievement Correlates of Achievement Motivation and Values. Achievement motivation and value orientation were found to be related to different kinds of behavior that affect social mobility. We have stated that the achievement motive expresses itself in concern with performance evaluated against a standard of excellence. In the school situation this performance may be canalized within the framework of scholastic achievement. That this is probably frequently the case can be seen in Table 3 in which motivation scores are cross-tabulated with average school grades. The data show that subjects with high motivation scores are proportionately more likely to achieve grades of

TABLE 3. AVERAGE SCHOOL GRADE BY ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION

Average School Grade	Achievement Motivation Score		Value Orientation Score	
	High	Low	High	Low
	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent
"B" or above	69	35	54	46
"C" or below	31	65	46	54
Number	(54)	(66)	(59)	(61)

χ^2: 13.5. χ^2: .833.
$P < .001$. $P > .30$.

"B" or better than are adolescents with low motivation scores: 69 per cent of the former as against 35 per cent of the latter. Value scores, however, proved not to be related to academic achievement, although they are associated with a kind of behavior that is, if not in itself an act of achievement, at least a factor in social mobility in our society. It was found that the individual's value score, but *not* his motivation score, is related to educational aspiration. Thus the data in Table 4 indicate that subjects with high

TABLE 4. SCHOOL ASPIRATION BY VALUE ORIENTATION

School Aspiration	Value Orientation Score High	Value Orientation Score Low	Achievement Motivation Score High	Achievement Motivation Score Low
	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent
Aspires to go to college	61	33	51	46
Does not aspire to go to college	39	67	49	54
Number	(59)	(61)	(54)	(66)

χ^2: 13.3. $\qquad$ χ^2: 1.2.
P < .001. $\qquad$ P > .20.

value scores are proportionately more likely to want to go to college than are those with low scores: 61 per cent of the former as compared with 33 per cent of the latter. The relationships between motivation and grades, and between values and aspiration level are statistically significant at the .001 level.

Since high need achievement and value scores tend to occur more frequently among members of the upper and middle than in the lower strata, it is not surprising to find that social strata are different in their academic achievement and educational aspiration levels. This is particularly marked in the case of educational aspiration level, which was found to be considerably higher for adolescents in the upper and middle strata than for those in the lower strata. Thus when subjects were asked, "If you could arrange things to suit yourself, how far would you go in school?" 92 per cent of respondents in the combined category of stratas I, II, and III aspired to continue their education beyond high school, either in college or in a technical school; whereas of the combined

stratas IV-V only 47 per cent aspired to go beyond high school.[16]

The hypothesis that this differential in education aspiration is, in part at least, a function of value orientation differences is supported by the data shown in Table 5 in

TABLE 5. VALUE SCORE BY ASPIRATION LEVEL AND SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Class			
	I–II–III		IV–V	
Aspiration Level	Under-Aspirers	Other-Aspirers	Over-Aspirers	Other-Aspirers
Value Score	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent
Low	57	23	65	79
High	43	77	35	21
Number	7	53*	17	43†

* Includes those individuals whose aspiration level represents the modal choice for their status group.

† Includes those subjects whose aspiration level is below or at the modal choice for their group.

which under- and over-aspirers are examined. Under-aspirers are those respondents in strata I, II, or III whose educational aspiration level is lower than the modality for their group (i.e. those who do not aspire to go beyond high school); over-aspirers are those adolescents in strata IV-V whose aspiration level is higher than the norm for their group (i.e. those who aspire to go beyond high school). The data in Table 5 in which over- and under-aspirers are compared with one another, and with other members of their class, in terms of their value scores show a clear relationship between over-under-aspiration level and value orientations. Thus fewer under-aspirers have high value scores than do other members of their strata—43 per cent of the former as compared with 77 per cent of the latter; whereas over-aspirers are more likely to have high value scores than are other members of their class—35 per cent as compared with 21 per cent. Furthermore, the class differences in value scores shown in Table 2 virtually disappear when aspiration level is held constant: an earlier

16 Class differentials in educational aspiration level have been noted by a number of investigators. See, for example, J. A. Kahl, "Educational and Occupational Aspirations of 'Common Man' Boys," *Harvard Educational Review*, 23 (Summer, 1953), pp. 186–203.

difference of more than 40 per cent between categories I-II-III and IV-V is reduced to 8 per cent when over- and under-aspirers are compared with one another; whereas it is increased when the "other" categories are compared.

The relationship between academic achievement (as measured by average grades) and social class appears to reflect to a considerable extent strata differentials in achievement motivation. Class differences in academic achievement which appear significant on first inspection (e.g., 17 per cent of the subjects in the combined category of Classes I-II-III have averages grades of "A"; only 3 per cent of those Classes IV-V have grades this high; also 54 per cent of the former have average grades of "B" or higher, as compared with 42 per cent of the lower status category) are markedly altered when need achievement score is introduced as a test variable. As can be seen in Table 6

TABLE 6. SCHOOL GRADES BY ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION AND SOCIAL CLASS

Achievement Motivation Score	Social Class			
	I-II-III		IV-V	
	High	Low	High	Low
Average School Grades	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent
"B" or above	66	32	75	36
"C" or below	34	68	25	64
Number	38	22	16	44

the earlier relationship between class and grades is virtually erased for those with low achievement motivation and slightly reversed for those with high motivation. However, although the differences *between* strata are reduced to a statistically insignificant level, *within* strata differences between individuals with high and low motivation scores remain, thus pointing up the relationship between motivation and academic achievement.

Achievement motivation and achievement oriented values are not, of course, the only factors related to academic success and educational aspiration. The fact that *all* the cells in the contingency tables described here contain some cases clearly indicates that other variables are at work. Among these variables may be such factors as sibling

rivalry, the operation of ego defense mechanisms, or motives other than need achievement, for example, the need for power. Furthermore, social classes may be dissimilar in ways other than in their motives or values, and these differences can have significance for achievement. Classes are said to be different in manners, richness of cultural-esthetic experiences, and possibly with respect to intelligence, to a general sense of well being, power, and past history of successful endeavor. All of these factors may contribute to differential class rates of mobility by affecting academic and vocational success and aspiration level. The task of this paper, however, has been to focus upon the factors of achievement motivation and values, although probably in the empirical situation many of the above factors are operative and interactive at the same time.

Whatever the importance present and future studies may show the other factors listed above to have for achievement, the fact remains that this study reveals a significant relationship between achievement motivation and grades, and between values and educational aspiration. This fact is of more than academic interest. There is a nexus, though it is of course not a perfect one, between educational and vocational achievement in our society. Furthermore, the college degree is becoming an increasingly important prerequisite for movement into prestigeful and lucrative jobs; hence an aspiration level which precludes college training may seriously affect an individual's opportunity for social mobility. Since we have shown that achievement oriented motives and values are more characteristic of the middle than the lower strata, it is reasonable to suggest that these variables are, in part at least, factors which tend to create differential class rates of social mobility.

Class Related Origins of Achievement Motivation and Values. The achievement motive and values examined here, while related, represent genuinely different components of the achievement syndrome, not only in their correlates but also in their origins. Value orientations, because they tend to be on a conceptual level, are probably acquired in that stage of the child's cultural training when verbal communication of a fairly complex nature is possible.

Achievement motivation, on the other hand, probably has its origins in certain kinds of parent-child interaction that occur early in the child's life and are likely to be emotional and unverbalized. Analytically, then, the learning of achievement oriented values can be independent of the acquisition of the achievement motive, though empirically they often occur together.

Several empirical studies have shown that achievement motivation is most likely to be high when the child is urged to obtain, and rewarded for achieving, independence and mastery, accompanied by few restrictions after mastery has been acquired.[17] Winterbottom's study,[18] for example, indicates that mothers of children with high achievement motivation differ from mothers of children who have low motivation in that they: (1) make more demands (particularly for evidences of independence, maturity, and achievement) at early ages; and (2) give more intense and frequent rewards for fulfilled demands.

These are the patterns which are believed to be especially characteristic of middle-class families, although it must be emphasized that the data to substantiate this conclusion are still tentative and often conflicting and that child-rearing practices, like other aspects of American culture, are in constant flux.[19] From babyhood on much of the middle-class child's affect is likely to be associated with achievement related behavior structured for him by the training practices and values of

his parents. In the pre-school period the tendency for middle-class parents to make early demands upon their children is reflected in such practices as early toilet training and the intense concern with cleanliness. As the child grows he is frequently urged and encouraged to demonstrate his developing maturity (e.g., early walking, talking, and self care). Signs of precocity are signals for intense parental pride and often lavish rewards. It is precisely this atmosphere which provides, if Winterbottom is correct, a most fertile environment for the growth of the achievement motive.

When the child starts his formal schooling, the achievement oriented demands and values of his parents tend to be focussed on the school situation. From the beginning of his school career the middle-class child is more likely than his lower-class counterpart to have standards of excellence in scholastic behavior set for him by his parents. In fact, the relatively higher position which scholastic attainment has in the middle-class than in the lower-class value system means that more frequently for the middle- than for the lower-class child parental demands and expectations, as well as rewards and punishments, will center around school performance.

Associated with the stress on scholastic achievement are other achievement oriented values that are more characteristic of the middle than the lower class. While it is probably true that the notion that success is desirable and possible is widespread in our society, the implementary values—those which encouraged behavior that facilitate achievement—have long been more associated with the culture of the middle than of the lower class. Middle-class children are more likely to be taught not only to believe in success, but also to be willing to take those steps that make achievement possible: in short, to embrace the achievement value system which states that given the willingness to work hard, plan and make the proper sacrifices, an individual should be able to manipulate his environment so as to ensure eventual success.

17 D. McClelland, et al., op. cit., Ch. 9.

18 M. Winterbottom, "The Relationship of Childhood Training in Independence to Achievement Motivation," University of Michigan Ph.D. Dissertation, 1953.

19 The uncertain character of data relating to class differences in child rearing is pointed up in the article, R. J. Havighurst and A. Davis, "A Comparison of the Chicago and Harvard Studies of Social Class Differences in Child Rearing," American Sociological Review, 20 (August, 1955), pp. 438–442. See also, M. C. Erickson, "Social Status and Child-rearing Practices," in T. Newcomb and E. Hartley (editors), Readings in Social Psychology, New York: Holt, 1947; A. Davis, Social-class Influences Upon Learning, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951.

LEVELS OF OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATION:
SOME ASPECTS OF FAMILY EXPERIENCE AS A VARIABLE

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A RECURRING theme in the stratification literature emphasizes the widespread acceptance of the "success" imperative in American society. Upward social mobility is not only a possibility but something to be actively sought. Although the rewards of mobility are consistently stressed, some individuals show a greater desire to achieve these rewards, while others seem more "content" with their current status and expectations. What accounts for this differential emphasis upon success? Why do some people consider it more important to "get ahead" than others? Within a given socio-economic group, what social-psychological factors differentiate individuals with high aspirations from those who have lower aspirational levels?

Much of the psychoanalytic literature has suggested that unsatisfactory interpersonal relations in early childhood produce insecurity which is translated into neurotic striving for power, recognition and success. Adler and Horney, among others, have suggested that the quest for power is frequently used as a compensatory means of attaining reassurance against the anxieties produced by unhappy childhood experiences.[1] Some sociologists have also commented on the plausibility of these relationships. Ellis, for example, studying career women, found that those who had achieved upward social mobility showed a history of greater difficulty in their early interpersonal relations than did those who were non-mobile.[2] While the personality consequences of upward social mobility have been the major focus of previous research in this area,[3] there has been surprisingly little empirical attention directed toward understanding differential levels of aspiration. Does it follow, as much of the psychoanalytic literature asserts, that individuals with high aspirations are characterized by greater difficulty in their interpersonal relations within the family of orientation than those with lower aspirations?

RESEARCH DESIGN

Investigation of this relationship required the selection of an appropriate measure of aspiration and some index of parent-child interaction. Although aspirations have been measured in varied ways, it was felt that an occupational referent represented one of the best single measures. The scale selected was developed by Reissman and was concerned with the willingness of individuals to forego certain satisfactions in order to achieve occupational advancement.[4] In this scale, eleven considerations were specified that might prevent a person from advancing in rank and salary in their occupation.[5] Among these considerations were: leaving one's family for some time, endangering one's health, moving about the country, keeping quiet about political views, etc. Each consideration was evaluated in terms of three alternatives: (1) whether it might stop the individual from making a change; (2) whether it might be a serious consideration but would not stop him; (3) whether it would not matter at all. Only the first alternative was scored.[6] The logic behind the

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[1] See, for example, Karen Horney, *The Neurotic Personality of Our Time*, New York: Norton and Company, 1937, pp. 162–187.

[2] Evelyn Ellis, "Social Psychological Correlates of Upward Social Mobility Among Unmarried Career Women," *American Sociological Review*, 17 (October, 1952), pp. 558–563.

[3] See, for example, A. B. Hollingshead, R. Ellis and E. Kirby, "Social Mobility and Mental Illness," *American Sociological Review*, 19 (October, 1954), pp. 577–584.

[4] Leonard Reissman, "Level of Aspiration and Social Class," *American Sociological Review*, 18 (June, 1953), pp. 233–242.

[5] These considerations were ranked according to the frequency they were taken into account by the sample population in the original study and were weighted from 1 to 11. For example, a person who said that moving around the country would prevent him from making an occupational advancement received a score of 10. Conversely, if the item was not a consideration, it was scored zero. By summating the weighted responses to each of the eleven items it was possible to receive scores ranging from zero to 66.

[6] This method of scoring was slightly different from the method used by Reissman in the original study.

scoring was that persons who would permit these considerations to stop them from making a change were expressing lower levels of aspiration than those who would disregard these factors in order to attain higher occupational status.

Since this scale had previously been used simply to differentiate gross categories and had not been employed to measure individual differences, the sample was divided into "high" and "low" aspirers, similar to the division employed by Reissman. Operationally, respondents who received scores from zero to 19 were defined as "high" aspirers and those who scored 20 or more comprised the "low" aspirers.

A second instrument was constructed concerning affectional patterns in the family of orientation. Questions relating to the respondent's relations with their parents included: degree of attachment, amount of conflict, frequency of confiding in parents, feelings of rejection, parental favoritism, and fear of punishment from parents. Items were also included concerning sibling rivalry, childhood happiness, and coercion by parents through disapproval and unfavorable comparisons. It should be noted that all of these dimensions required the respondent's definition of his relationships. No claim is made that this definition was necessarily in close correspondence with the objective situation. Even if the definitions were not objectively true to others, they were, of course, subjectively true to the respondent. The concern here was with the respondent's interpretation of the situation.

The aspiration scale and index of parent-child interaction were employed in questionnaire form [7] and were administered to 350 university students enrolled in introductory and advanced sociology classes. Since the aspirational scale was phrased in terms of occupational advancement, the women in the sample expressed their aspiration in terms of advice they might give their husbands.[8]

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[7] All questionnaires were answered anonymously. Other dimensions, covered by the questionnaire but not included in this report, involved the relations between aspiration and religious ideology and the relation between aspiration and favorableness of attitude to marriage.

[8] There were 153 males and 197 females in the total sample.

Using both objective indices of father's occupation and a self-rating on class position, the sample population showed only slight variations in socio-economic background. Over 55 per cent of the sample came from professional and managerial backgrounds. Only 8 per cent of the sample placed themselves in the upper class, and no one identified with the lower class, while 70 per cent identified with the upper-middle class and 22 per cent with the lower-middle.

TABLE 1. FEELINGS OF NOT BEING WANTED BY PARENTS IN RELATION TO LEVEL OF ASPIRATION, IN PERCENTAGES

Feelings of Not Being Wanted by Parents	Level of Aspiration	
	High	Low
Father	(N = 117)	(N = 223)
Some	41.9	24.7
None	58.1	75.3
Mother	(N = 122)	(N = 223)
Some	34.4	20.2
None	65.6	79.8

Data concerning father, $\chi^2 = 10.7$; d.f. = 1; P < .002.

Data concerning mother, $\chi^2 = 8.43$; d.f. = 1; P < .01.

THE FINDINGS

Evidence obtained in this research essentially supports the relationship between unsatisfactory interpersonal relations in the family of orientation and high aspirational levels. The "high" aspirers stated that they had experienced feelings of rejection more frequently than did those in the "lower" group. As may be seen in Table 1, 42 per cent of the "high" aspirers indicated that they had experienced feelings of not being wanted by their fathers, while only 24 per cent of those in the "low" group had experienced similar feelings. When the data were classified according to the individuals' feelings of rejection by the mother, the percentages for the "high" and "low" groups were 34 and 20, respectively.

Similarly, the data regarding parental favoritism toward a son or daughter revealed significant differences in the same direction. Table 2 shows the result of this analysis. "High" aspirers defined their parents as showing more favoritism toward some child in the family than did the "low" aspirers. Furthermore, a significantly greater propor-

TABLE 2. FAVORITISM SHOWN BY PARENTS IN RELA-
TION TO LEVEL OF ASPIRATION, IN PERCENTAGES

Favoritism Shown by Parents	Level of Aspiration	
	High	Low
Father	(N = 95)	(N = 188)
Yes	45.3	30.9
No	54.7	69.1
Mother	(N = 95)	(N = 188)
Yes	41.1	25.0
No	58.9	75.0

Data concerning father, $\chi^2 = 5.56$; d.f. = 1; $P < .02$.
Data concerning mother, $\chi^2 = 7.46$; d.f. = 1; $P < .01$.

TABLE 3. DEGREE OF PARENTAL ATTACHMENT IN
RELATION TO LEVEL OF ASPIRATION, IN
PERCENTAGES

Degree of Attachment to Parents	Level of Aspiration	
	High	Low
Father	(N = 110)	(N = 222)
Much	33.6	50.9
Little	66.4	49.1
Mother	(N = 123)	(N = 223)
Much	52.8	66.8
Little	47.2	33.2

Data concerning father, $\chi^2 = 7.87$; d.f. = 1; $P < .01$.
Data concerning mother, $\chi^2 = 6.58$; d.f. = 1; $P < .01$.

tion of the "high" than the "low" aspirational groups indicated less attachment to their parents and had experienced a lesser degree of happiness during their childhood. (See Tables 3 and 4.) In addition, the "high" aspirers confided less frequently in their fathers ($P < .05$) and were more fearful of punishment from them ($P < .05$).

This pattern of difference was even more pronounced when the data were further classified according to sex, ethnic origin, or religion.[9] This finding would add some support to the observations which many have made that aspirational levels are closely associated with the person's position in the social structure. It should be noted, however, that the sample, on which this report is based, was relatively homogeneous in that it comprised a predominately urban, middlewestern, Protestant, middle-class, college population.

The "high" and "low" aspirers did not differ significantly in the degree of conflict with their siblings. Neither did they differ in the frequency with which they had confided in their mothers, nor in the amount of conflict with their fathers.

Since it is often assumed that aspiration is a by-product of the overt pressures of parental projection, it is interesting to note that there were no significant differences between the groups in their feelings that their parents compared them unfavorably with their siblings or peer group concerning accomplishments in school and athletics. In addition, the "high" and "low" aspirers did not differ in their estimations of the degree

[9] The details of these relationships will be discussed in a forthcoming research report.

of disappointment their parents might have if their children did not live up to parental expectations. This negative evidence suggested that differences in aspiration are more closely related to subtle interpersonal factors than to overt parental pressures.

SUMMARY

This study concerning the relationship between aspirational level and interpersonal experiences tends to support some of the current assumptions in the psychoanalytic literature. *Unsatisfactory interpersonal relationships in the family of orientation were significantly related to high aspirational levels and satisfactory relationships were related to lower aspirational levels.*

Since increasing attention is being given to the development of "happy" and socially well-adjusted persons by some of our institutions and social agencies, the question arises whether modifications will occur in the future to the success orientation of American society. It may well be that the increasing emphasis on personal happiness, rather than upon personal achievement, will serve to augment the growing quest for security.

TABLE 4. HAPPINESS OF CHILDHOOD IN RELATION TO
LEVEL OF ASPIRATION, IN PERCENTAGES

Happiness of Childhood	Level of Aspiration	
	High (N = 122)	Low (N = 224)
Happy	72.9	81.1
Average	27.1	18.9

$\chi^2 = 4.04$; d.f. = 1; $P < .05$.

Table 1:

How frequently have you felt that you were
not wanted by your *father?*
(1) Very often (2) Frequently (3) Some
(4) Rarely (5) Never.

How frequently have you felt that you were
not wanted by your *mother?*
(1) Very often (2) Frequently (3) Some
(4) Rarely (5) Never.

In Table 1, response categories 1, 2, 3, and 4
were included in "Some," and category 5
was referred to as "None."

Table 2:

During your childhood, who do you think was
your father's favorite?
(1) Older brother (2) Younger brother (3)
Older sister (4) Younger sister (5) Am
only child (6) Yourself (7) No favorite.

During your childhood, who do you think was
your mother's favorite?
(1) Older brother (2) Younger brother (3)
Older sister (4) Younger sister (5) Am
only child (6) Yourself (7) No favorite.

In Table 2, response categories 1, 2, 3, 4, and
6 were included in "Favoritism Shown by
Parents—Yes" and category 7 was referred
to as "Favoritism Shown by Parents—No."
In some cases the respondents defined them-

selves as the favorite child. These cases
were included since they were consistent
with the purpose of the table, depicting a
family "atmosphere" in which differential
treatment of children was perceived. Cases
involving only children were, of course, ex-
cluded.

Table 3:

Amount of attachment between you and your
father?
(1) Extremely close (2) Very close (3)
Considerable (4) Somewhat (5) A little
(6) None at all.

Amount of attachment between you and your
mother?
(1) Extremely close (2) Very close (3)
Considerable (4) Somewhat (5) A little
(6) None at all.

In Table 3, response categories 1 and 2 were
included in "Much" and categories 3, 4, 5,
and 6 were referred to as "Little."

Table 4:

How would you rate your childhood?
(1) Very happy (2) Happy (3) Average
(4) Unhappy (5) Very unhappy.

In Table 4, response categories 1 and 2 were
included in "Happy" and categories 3, 4,
and 5 were referred to as "Average."

LIFE CAREERS, POWER AND THE PROFESSIONS:
THE RETIRED ARMY GENERAL *

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THE immediate aim of this study is to
analyze the occupational status of army
generals after their retirement from
active service, that is, to determine how
many have been re-employed in civilian
work and what positions they hold. Within
the broader sociological context, as suggested
by the title, the interest is in the potential
impact of a professional group upon social
structure.

The study was motivated in large measure
by an impression that the military in the
present period is exerting a significant in-
fluence upon non-military areas of American

society. Given the institutionalized dom-
inance of the military by civilian authority,
there is ground for supposing that a study of
the military might highlight some aspects of
how a professional group can become placed
so as to affect social structure, especially as
influence is exercised in areas outside of its
traditionally defined scope These impres-
sions are not entirely unjustified. Some po-
litical scientists have linked the growing
emphasis on military strength and activity
to the emergence of the United States as a
great world power.[1] As one result, there is

[1] Burton M. Sapin and Richard C. Snyder, *The
Role of the Military in American Foreign Policy,*
New York: Doubleday and Co., 1954. One might
speculate whether this reason, general as it is, is
sufficient explanation. Perhaps, additionally, the
threat of atomic war has welded the diplomats and
the military inevitably together.

evidence of increasing civilian dependence upon military advice and counsel in such matters as foreign policy, armed strength, nuclear development, and civil defense.[2] Concomitantly, the prestige of the military appears to be at a high point, as indicated by such events as the election of a general to the presidency, the appointment of a general to a cabinet post in a previous administration, the selection of a general to head one of our large corporations, and in the wide publicity given to other high-ranking military personnel, many of whom hold positions which are essentially political in character. This high prestige and influence differ considerably from an earlier period of peace and isolationism when the military, in Herring's words, had to seek "from civilian authorities the means of sustaining a meager existence."[3] Perhaps this is evidence only for a few selected military leaders coming into prominence and does not reflect upon the military establishment as a whole.[4] At the very least, the point deserves study.

The decision to restrict this research to the retired army general was made primarily because of the difficulties of trying to obtain systematic and reliable information about the influence of those on active service. Although complete success was not achieved an inquiry based upon the active military would seem to hold even less hope of fulfillment. The influence exerted by the active military in policy decisions, for example, is not easily gauged. This would depend almost entirely upon inferences from an intimate knowledge of the political process and from a close interpretation of a few hard facts, as is admirably done in such a study as *The Role of the Military in American Foreign Policy*.[5] On the other hand, if it were demonstrated that sizeable numbers of retired generals are re-employed in civilian capacities, the broader aim of the research could be satisfactorily achieved. The study could then document the extent and character of the impact of a profession upon social structure. Limiting the study to retired generals makes the research goal more feasible, and allows the emphasis to remain upon an essentially military group. Although retired, the group studied is composed of career military men with long service and differs from those on active duty primarily by age. It is assumed that the prestige of the military profession—whether high or low—directly affects the employment opportunities for those retired. Civilian employers, in other words, "buy" the high prestige of the military by hiring retired personnel.[6]

PROCEDURE

The research procedure used in this study was relatively simple. Each year the Department of the Army publishes a register of all regular army officers carried as retired.[7] From this list, as of January, 1954, the names of those in all four grades of general were taken—brigadier, major, lieutenant, and full general. A total of 1006 was thus obtained, along with information given in the *Army Register* on rank, reason for retirement, and date of retirement. These names were then traced for additional biographical information in *Who's Who in America*, beginning with the most recent volume and checking back through earlier ones for the latest entry on each individual. The fact that *Who's Who* includes entries for generals makes it a most advantageous source, further increased by its accessibility and uniformity in reporting. In this manner, selected biographical items were obtained for 945, or

[2] The inclusion of "civil defense" at this point is deliberate. LaViolette and Ktsanes, currently engaged in a study of a community civil defense organization, have preliminary findings which indicate a major dilemma in civil-military relations. According to them, a number of persons in the community have expressed concern over the necessarily military character of civil defense and the concomitant possibility of having a quasi-military organization emerging within the fabric of community structure.

[3] Pendleton Herring, *The Impact of War*, New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1941, p. 46.

[4] Although Janowitz does not explicitly direct himself to this point, he does suggest different power prerogatives as well as different career lines for a "top military cadre" as distinguished from a "military leadership nucleus" among high ranking military personnel. Cf., Morris Janowitz, *Working Paper on the Professional Soldier and Political Power*, Bureau of Government, Institute of Public Administration, University of Michigan, July, 1953. (mimeo.)

[5] Sapin and Snyder, *op. cit.*

[6] A test of this assumption obviously would require historically spaced restudies similar to the present one.

[7] *Official Army Register*, Vol. I, U. S. Army Active and Retired Lists, 1 January 1954, Department of the Army, Washington, D. C.

TABLE 1. ARMY RANK OF RETIRED GENERALS BY PRESENT EMPLOYMENT STATUS

Army Rank	Totals	Present Employment Status		
		No Definite Information	Retired	Re-Employed
Brigadier	562	292	151	119
Major	331	138	106	87
Lieutenant	41	22	8	11
General	11	3	3	5
Totals	945	455	268	222

about 94 per cent of the total group. Tables 1 and 2 provide an overview by showing the distribution of army ranks, dates of retirement, and present employment status.

As can be seen in both tables, as well as succeeding ones, definite information on re-employment status was obtained for about half of the group, including in this figure those who were ever re-employed. Although biographies for a majority of the generals were listed in *Who's Who*, there was no recent information for half of the group to cover their post-retirement status. In part, this may be due to the recency of retirement, especially for those who retired after 1950. Either the generals have not brought their entries up to date, or perhaps, have not yet definitely decided what to do. More than a third of those listed as showing "no definite information" have retired within the last four years, as indicated in Table 2. It must be clearly stated, therefore, that only half of the total group is included in the further analysis and interpretation which depends upon employment status. This limitation does not apply, however, to the information on education and professional

TABLE 2. YEAR OF RETIREMENT OF GENERALS BY PRESENT EMPLOYMENT STATUS

Year Retired	Totals	Present Employment Status		
		No Definite Information	Retired	Re-Employed
Before 1941	120	21	69	30
1941–1945	123	32	56	35
1946–1950	505	240	126	139
1951–1953	197	162	17	18
Totals	945	455	268	222
Means	1946	1948	1943	1945

training referred to later. The situation necessarily limits the reliability of the analysis.[8]

FACTORS IN THE CIVILIAN EMPLOYMENT OF GENERALS

In order to help evaluate what the entry of generals into civilian organizations might imply, it is necessary to make explicit some of the factors that can affect such employment. Opportunities for civilian employment of retired generals differ sharply from what is ordinarily available to other professionals. The general has less opportunity than other professionals, strictly speaking, to continue performing his specialty after retirement. Lawyers and doctors, especially those who are self-employed, can continue working as long as they wish. Teachers can find opportunities to write or to teach again. Engineers may become consultants after they have retired from full-time employment.

To some extent, generals possess skills that can be utilized in a civilian capacity. This is documented in their educational backgrounds, as shown in Table 3, and in their non-military professional competence, as shown in Table 4. About half have graduated from a military academy, but an almost equal proportion hold at least a regular college degree. Even more to the point, 17 per cent hold a professional or other postgraduate degree. In this connection, attention is directed to the fact that the highest proportion (29 per cent) of those who hold

[8] From the information at hand it is not possible to evaluate precisely whether any consistent bias is present to distinguish the group about whom no definite employment status information was available. From the data it can be said that the former have retired more recently, on the whole, than have the others, as just noted above. Additionally, from Table 1 it is seen that the re-employed generals tend to be somewhat over represented in the higher ranks, and those with "no definite information" slightly over represented in the lower ranks. There are only slight differences between the groups in the proportions that have graduated from military academy as compared to those who have graduated from a regular college. Finally, the somewhat larger percentage among the re-employed of those who have additional professional skills is noted and discussed. From these rather few differences it can only be surmised that the re-employed appear to have more talents that might recommend them for civilian employment. Further than this, it is difficult to nail down other possible distinguishing features more securely from the brief biographical data.

TABLE 3. MILITARY AND FORMAL EDUCATION OF
RETIRED GENERALS BY PRESENT EMPLOY-
MENT STATUS

Education	Totals	No Definite Infor- mation	Retired	Re-Em- ployed
Military				
Graduated military academy	491	223	152	116
Some academy education	19	11	4	4
Did not attend military academy	435	221	112	102
Totals	945	455	268	222
Formal				
Some college	187	87	54	46
Graduated college	165	86	40	39
Professional degree	111	44	25	42
Post-graduate degree	46	16	7	23
Not appli- cable	436	222	142	72
Totals	945	455	268	222

advanced degrees is found among generals who have been re-employed. Further evidence of this point is shown in Table 4, where it can be seen that more than a third in that latter group indicate some profession other than the military, as compared to 16 per cent among those presently retired and 15 per cent among those without definite information on present employment status.[9] Although evidence of non-military professional competence for part of the group is being stressed, this should not overshadow the fact that the majority of all groups does not claim any other professional skills—84 per cent of those retired and of those without information on present status, and 61 per cent of those re-employed.

A second reason sometimes advanced for hiring the general is that during his service career he has learned skills that are transferable, especially administration and disci-

[9] Since this study includes the universe of retired generals as of a given time, measures of statistical significance applicable to samples are not meaningful. Instead, it can be argued that all differences are real differences.

pline. This cannot be documented here. Many persons who have attained the rank of general have spent time in responsible administrative positions. Further, such skills can be transferred, to some extent, from the military much as in the case of top level

TABLE 4. PROFESSIONS OF RETIRED GENERALS, OTHER
THAN MILITARY, BY PRESENT EMPLOY-
MENT STATUS

Profession	Totals	No Definite Infor- mation	Retired	Re-Em- ployed
No other profession	745	384	225	136
Engineer	77	27	14	36
Doctor	58	18	12	28
Lawyer	26	12	7	7
Business ad- ministrator	15	5	5	5
Editor or writer	14	3	1	10
Dentist	5	4	1	0
Priest or minister	3	1	2	0
Teacher	2	1	1	0
Totals	945	455	268	222

managers who move between industries. Although the specific content and environment of the job may vary, it may be contended that a minimum of administrative know-how is as applicable to one large organization as to another. By extension, the same might be said for the military leadership who have had army experience in supply, purchasing, and administrative decision-making that are equally important components in the structure of large civilian bureaucracies. Herring, in his study of the military, argues a similar point for the matter of discipline.

> There is probably less conflict between military and civilian demands for discipline than is generally realized. All large-scale economic undertakings call for disciplined workers. Discipline in all ranges of society becomes more important with the growth of technology.[10]

Nonetheless, this speculation still leaves unanswered the question of how closely the administrative skills learned in the army can mesh with the goals and objectives of such civilian organizations as a factory or a uni-

[10] Herring, op. cit., p. 75.

versity. The procedures of control, and the way policy is implemented in the military, do not closely duplicate the conditions imposed by unionization or the relatively free movement of labor that are essential parts of civilian organizations.

A third factor that can affect the re-employment opportunities of the general is the possibility of having close contact with those at equally high levels in civilian enterprises. This is partly an advantage of government employment. His knowledge of government operations in a specialized area and the people he knows in the army and in other departments constitute a valuable asset for civilian firms doing business with the government. The co-optation of government employed professionals by private business has been evidenced in the case of lawyers and is probably of some consequence for generals as well. This seems to be especially prevalent in the present period when large military budgets require business contracts with many large civilian firms.

The general possesses skills and knowledge that he can sell upon his retirement, but there is less economic pressure upon him than upon other professionals to seek re-employment. In effect, this means that he can wait to decide between alternatives for his own best advantage. This is not meant to imply that financial reasons alone need determine whether or not generals will seek re-employment. For some, the need to maintain a certain pace of activity—even in retirement—may be of crucial importance. For some, the prestige of being associated with a large civilian organization may be sought as a replacement for their position in the army. However, it is clear on economic grounds alone that ample pension payments as well as relatively high earnings mean that the general can remain in retirement if he wishes without undue privation. The monthly rate of pay and allowance for major, lieutenant, and full generals is over $950 and for brigadier is $300.[11] After retirement, those in the top three grades receive from $290 to $745 monthly, and a brigadier from $240 to $640, depending upon the percentage of active duty

pay given and the length of service.[12] Although the salaries of some professions may compare favorably with those pay scales, there are not many which offer equally high retirement payments. This relative security allows the retired general to choose what he wants to do without the economic pressure of making an immediate decision.

THE RE-EMPLOYED ARMY GENERAL

As stated at the outset, the major research interest is in the influence this professional group might have upon social structure. Within the context of the design used, this influence is interpreted and measured in the extent to which retired generals are in civilian employment. For this purpose, only the 222 generals who have been so re-employed can be considered.

From the information in Table 5, showing the affiliations of the group, it can be seen that they are employed in a range of economic activity that covers a wide spectrum, including manufacturing, government,[13] education, finance, and medical services. The argument that generals are re-employed because they possess professional skills seems most applicable to those found in such categories as "education," "medical services," "construction," and "minerals and mining." However, this explanation hardly explains the relatively higher proportions of those found in "manufacturing," "associations," "communications," and "finance." In part, the skills hired may be administrative. In addition, however, it seems clearly suggested that the currently high prestige of the army general—either as a hero or as part of the military group—also enters into the explanation for his employment. Some organizations, including large corporations and universities, might find it desirable to hire that prestige, whether for advertising, public relations, window-dressing, or some other more economically calculable purpose.

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[11] To be exact, $963.30 for the top three grades and $800.28 for brigadier. [*Official Army Register*, Vol. II, 1 January 1954, Department of the Army, Washington, D. C., p. 500.]

[12] Exact figures are $288.99 to $744.71 for the top three grades and $240.08 to $644.67 for brigadier. *Ibid*, p. 506.

[13] Included in "government" are civil defense positions at state and municipal levels. This position, interestingly enough, appears to be the most closely suited to professional military skills. Yet the point should not be overlooked that in this case too the military man is dealing with civilians and civilian agencies.

TABLE 5. ORGANIZATIONAL AFFILIATIONS OF
RE-EMPLOYED GENERALS

Type of Affiliations	Number	Per Cent
Manufacturing	51	15.8
Government (all levels)	49	15.2
Education	34	10.5
Associations	33	10.2
Communication and transportation	28	8.7
Finance and banking	25	7.7
Medical services	21	6.5
Retail sales	8	2.5
Minerals and mining	5	1.6
Construction	5	1.6
Research and development	4	1.2
Self-employed	26	8.0
Not classified	34	10.5
Totals	323*	100.0

N = 222

* Adds to more than the number of persons since
some held more than one position.

The range of economic affiliations covered
by the group constitutes a source of potential
influence; so too do the positions that are
held by the generals, as shown in Table 6.
Generals hold relatively high level posts in
civilian bureaucracies. More than half are
included as members of a board of directors,
chairmen of the board, vice-presidents, presi-
dents, and managers. Ordinarily, these posi-
tions belong close to the highest management
levels and close to the level at which policy
in the organization is determined.

The question of the ability or the experi-
ence of the general to fill these positions can-
not be answered here. However, the point at
issue concerns the effect that the career mili-
tary officer can potentially exert upon a wide
range of economic activity, which in turn

TABLE 6. ORGANIZATIONAL POSITIONS HELD BY
RE-EMPLOYED GENERALS

Position Held	Number	Per Cent
President or manager	54	16.7
Vice-president or assistant	50	15.5
Chairman of board	16	5.0
Member of board	64	19.8
Divisional manager	42	13.0
Technical consultant	24	7.4
Educational post (not elsewhere classified)	18	5.6
Other	55	17.0
Totals	323*	100.0

N = 222

* Adds to more than the number of persons since
some held more than one position.

affects other institutional areas. This pre-
sumes first, that there is sufficient unity in
the group to give a combined effect to their
actions. There is some likelihood of this for
men who have spent a good portion of their
lives in service, in what Sapin and Snyder
have called an insulation from the main cur-
rents of American life.[14] One does not have
to posit a "military mind" to assume that
the military, like other professionals, has
developed a characteristic social outlook, a
standard for evaluating their clients, and a
set of values as a result of a long period of
socialization into the profession. Secondly,
the assumption is made that the formal power
inherent in the position is in fact exercised.
This need not be the case, especially where
the general has been hired primarily for
reasons of prestige. He may formally hold
the position, sign letters in the proper place,
and be listed on the letterhead. However, he
may hold the position in name only, with
the organization operating much as it did
before he came. As a final assumption in this
interpretation, it should also be noted that
generals may in fact be indistinguishable
from civilian administrators in recognizing
the objectives and procedures of an organiza-
tion. In this sense, the influence that might
be attributed to generals is no different from
that which might be attributed to any other
person at the same level.

This study suggests one further aspect that
relates to the whole question of the potential
influence of the general. Briefly stated, it is
the question of military dominance in civilian
areas where explicit controls are not evident.
The defined role of the military has been
traditionally one of subordination to civilian
authority. Americans have an "institutional-
ized fear" of military control because it must
necessarily be intimately tied to the use of
force. For this reason, strong controls have
been maintained to assure that this force is
contained within institutionally proscribed
limits. In the case of the active military,
there is a dilemma between needing to rely
heavily upon their skill and the need to
maintain traditional controls.[15] In the case
of the retired general, the problem stems
from the movement of the military into
other segments of the institutional structure.
The necessity for a separation and control

[14] Sapin and Snyder, op. cit., p. 3.
[15] Ibid., p. 1.

of the military is applicable to both groups —active and retired—within our system of values. Yet the fact that generals do move into civilian enterprises and into positions at high administrative levels implies that they can exercise formal powers within a legitimate institutional setting.

CONCLUSION

These influences, whether real or potential, are to some extent unique for the American military profession. However, there is a point here of importance to the study of other professions as well. Questions of influence, and the related question of power, have been largely overlooked. Yet, to characterize a professional by his prestige suggests that prestige can imply not only social recognition but also the possibility of power over the actions of others. Such power can be exercised not only within the recognized limits of a profession, but outside of it as well. For example, the activities of some professional associations to influence legislation and public opinion has been carefully documented in the case of the American Medical Association by Truman.[16] A further dimension within this context of power is suggested by the possible hereditary nature of professional entry. In her analysis of occupational mobility Rogoff shows a high tendency for the professions to remain open only to children of professionals.[17] Interest-

[16] David B. Truman, *The Governmental Process*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951.
[17] Natalie Rogoff, "Recent Trends in Urban Occupational Mobility," in *Reader in Urban Sociology*, edited by Paul K. Hatt and Albert J. Riess, Jr., Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1951, p. 416.

ingly enough, this trend is not evident for the military.[18]

These questions relating to the influence and power of the professions would seem to be a fruitful direction for inquiry in helping to outline the character of the professional status. Much has been learned about how a society can support, encourage, and give prestige to that position; relatively little has been done about the possible reactions of that position on the structure and process of social organization.

[18] In the case of retired generals, no such hereditary trend was found as shown in the following distribution:

Children of Generals	Totals	General's Present Employment Status		
		Unknown	Retired	Re-Employed
Males in service				
0	600	257	182	161
1 or 2	67	33	18	16
Females married to army husbands				
0	585	253	172	160
1	69	32	22	15
2 or more	13	5	6	2

Further, from Herring's analysis (*op. cit.*, p. 63) of the occupations of parents of candidates seeking admission to West Point for the years 1842 to 1925, it is clear that such candidates are drawn predominantly from families who are middle-class rather than military. Fathers of candidates were businessmen (30 per cent), professionals (25 per cent), farmers (15 per cent), and the remainder in government, skilled and unskilled occupations. Perhaps the democratic character of appointments to West Point is assured by the fact that candidates are usually appointed by members of Congress.

INCREASING RESPONSE TO QUESTIONNAIRES AND STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS *

W. L. SLOCUM, L. T. EMPEY, AND H. S. SWANSON

The State College of Washington, Brigham Young University and Long Beach City College

BIAS due to non-response is an ever-present hazard in surveys.[1] It is true that if it is possible to obtain information from a random sample of non-respond-

ents, mathematical techniques now exist for the derivation of "unbiased" estimates.[2] But this solution, at best, is less desirable than

* Approved by the Washington Agricultural Experiment Stations for publication.
[1] Morris H. Hansen and W. N. Hurwitz, "The Problem of Non-Response in Sample Surveys,"

Journal of the American Statistical Association, 41 (December, 1946), pp. 517–529.
[2] M. H. Hansen, W. N. Hurwitz, and W. T. Madow, *Sample Survey Methods and Theory*, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1953. Ch. 11, sec. 3.

obtaining full responses from all or nearly all of the persons included in a sample.

Some of the current texts on social research methods give procedural suggestions for increasing the rate of response to mail questionnaires and/or structured interviews.[3] In addition, a number of research workers have recently reported results obtained through the use of specific techniques.[4]

This note describes the results obtained in four recent studies conducted by the Department of Rural Sociology at the State College of Washington, and emphasizes two principles which were utilized in the selection of specific techniques.

It is assumed that most of the people in a given sample can be contacted. The problem then becomes one of motivating the prospective respondents to participate in the study. It is assumed that adequate motivation would both decrease the number of non-respondents and increase the probability of obtaining valid responses to specific questions. In the absence of empirically tested means of accomplishing this objective, it is suggested that motivation to respond can be increased, if not maximized, by conscious effort on the part of the researcher to: (1) establish an image of social utility of the survey in terms of the value system of the society, group, and/or community under

study, and (2) emphasize the special role of each respondent in making possible the attainment of the maximum social utility by the survey.

FARM-HUNTER RELATIONSHIPS [5]

This study, made in 1953, required personal interviews with 190 farmers in Whitman County, Washington. Prior to contacting the farmers, an effort was made to create an image of the social utility of the study by gaining support for it from local farm leaders and groups. The County Grange Master, the County Agent, the Grange Game Committee, and the Whitman County Pomona Grange were all given a detailed description of study objectives. These individuals and groups endorsed the study and permitted the use of their names as supporters of it.

The next step was to write a personal letter which, with an outlined description of the study, was sent to every farmer in the sample. The letter explained the role of the respondent in the study, solicited his cooperation, and explained that he would be called by telephone soon after receiving the letter. (Ninety-five per cent of the farmers had telephones.) The purpose of the call was to arrange an interview time which would be convenient to the farmer, but it also furnished a means of personal contact by which those farmers who objected to the study could have it more fully explained. Because this technique proved to be successful, it was possible to arrange a visit with every farmer included in the sample.

Six months later, when a follow-up interview was conducted by telephone, some indication that interviewer-farmer rapport was good was given by the fact that a surprisingly large number of farmers remembered the interviewer and called him by his first name. During the second interview also, there were no refusals.

Finally, consistent with the idea that the respondent plays an important role, each farmer was sent a copy of the report of the study.

[3] Cf. W. J. Goode and P. K. Hatt, *Methods in Social Research*, New York: McGraw-Hill Co., 1952; C. V. Good and D. E. Scates, *Methods of Research—Educational, Psychological, Sociological*, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1954; P. V. Young, *Scientific Social Surveys and Research*, New York: Longman, Green, 1942; and Mildred Parten, *Surveys, Polls, and Samples: Practical Procedures*, New York: Harper and Bros., 1950.

[4] D. S. Longworth, "Use of a Mail Questionnaire," *American Sociological Review*, 18 (June, 1953), pp. 310–313; F. B. Waisanen, "A Note on the Response to a Mailed Questionnaire," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, (Summer, 1954), pp. 210–212; A. L. Ferriss, "A Note on Stimulating Response to Questionnaires," *American Sociological Review*, 16 (April, 1951), pp. 247–249; D. O. Price, "On the Use of Stamped Return Envelopes with Mail Questionnaires," *American Sociological Review*, 15 (October, 1950), pp. 672–673; R. V. Venne, "Direct Mail Announcement of Agricultural Publications," Bul. No. 21, Department of Agriculture Journalism, University of Wisconsin, 1954; and J. B. Knox, "Maximizing Responses to Mail Questionnaires: A New Technique," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, (Summer, 1951), pp. 366–367.

[5] Cf. W. L. Slocum and L. T. Empey, *The Role of the Farmer in Upland Game Production and Hunting*, Washington Agricultural Experiment Stations Bulletin 552, State College of Washington, Pullman, 1954.

OCCUPATIONAL PLANNING OF HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS [6]

In this 1954 study a stratified, two-stage cluster sample of thirty-five of Washington's 265 high schools was chosen, and an attempt was made to obtain responses by questionnaire from seniors in those high schools.

Because of the nature of the sample, the school principal became the key figure in establishing the rapport necessary to make possible a visit to each high school. As in the farmer-hunter study, an effort was made to create an image of the social utility of the study by gaining support for it from reference groups and persons of prestige with whom the principals identified. Contact was made with the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, the present and past presidents of the Washington Association of Secondary School Principals, and the Dean of the School of Education at the State College of Washington, and the objectives and scope of the study were explained to them. Besides offering useful criticisms and suggestions, these people endorsed the study and permitted the use of their names in letters sent to each high school principal.

The special role of each principal in the study was stressed in letters sent to those included in the sample. In addition they were sent a brochure which included: (1) an outlined statement of study methods and objectives, (2) a copy of the questionnaire which each principal was asked to read to see if there were any questions to which he objected, and (3) a copy of Washington Agricultural Experiment Stations Bulletin 547 which describes a similar study of a college sample. Each principal was advised that after he had time to consider the material sent to him, he would be asked by long-distance telephone whether or not he would permit the study in his school, and if so, when an appointment could be made.

While it might not be wise in every case, the telephone technique was used to give the respondent as little chance as possible to refuse the interview. The high school principals were not asked to send an answer by mail, and while a few did, the value of calling them instead was well demonstrated. Out of several principals (and their superintendents) who were initially opposed to the study, only one remained adamant and refused after discussing the reasons for refusal over the phone; and, in this case, it was not the principal but the Board of Education that was the real stumbling block.

The main reasons for initial refusal are of importance to research workers. A few principals initially refused to co-operate because rapport had evidently been bad during previous studies conducted in their schools. They felt they had been "stung" by the directors of these studies because they had included objectionable material in their questionnaires and had often failed to stay within reasonable time limits. The principals of two very small schools felt that because of the small number of pupils in their schools, they had nothing to contribute to a large study. Only after some sampling theory had been explained to them were they able to understand the part that small, as well as large, schools play in obtaining a representative sample. The same condition was encountered in the farmer-hunter study where small farmers said responses from them meant nothing because their farms were so small. Once their part in the total picture was explained to them, they had no objections.

A comparison of the responses obtained in this study with a similar study conducted in 1947 indicates that the steps described above were worthwhile.[7] In the 1947 study, the principal means of contact was by mail; all high schools in the state were contacted but only about 50 per cent agreed to participate. Consequently, in the more recent study it was much easier to deal with the problem of non-response and to make a better estimate of sample reliability.

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[6] Cf. L. T. Empey, *Relationship of Social Class and Family Authority Patterns to Occupational Choice of Washington High School Seniors,* unpublished doctoral dissertation, Department of Sociology, State College of Washington, 1955; W. L. Slocum, *Occupational and Educational Plans of High School Seniors,* Washington Agricultural Experiment Stations Bulletin in press; and W. L. Slocum, "Factors Associated with Occupational Planning by High School Seniors," unpublished paper presented at the 1955 meeting of the American Sociological Society.

[7] See L. J. Elias, *Farm Youths' Appraisal of Their Adjustments, Compared with Other Youth,* Washington Agricultural Experiment Stations Bulletin 513, State College of Washington, Pullman, 1949.

CONSUMER STUDY IN A LARGE
URBAN CENTER [8]

This 1954 study required information on the consumption habits, purchasing patterns and preferences of Seattle egg consumers. To obtain these data, an area probability sample of dwelling units was selected. The interviewers were instructed to interview either the housewife or the head of the household, and they were instructed to make not more than four calls at any one unit to obtain an interview.

In order to see how the two principles cited earlier affected the response rate, a sub-sample of respondents was chosen to serve as an experimental group while the remainder acted as the control group. A letter was sent to each respondent in the experimental group prior to the interviewer's first call. The letter explained: (1) how he had been selected in the sample, (2) the social utility of the study as a means of helping to supply better quality service and products, and (3) the important role he, as a respondent, played in the study. The control group, on the other hand, was not contacted in any manner prior to the interviewer's first call.

Because of the special steps taken, it was anticipated that the response rate for the experimental group would be higher than that for the control group, but the results did not confirm this expectation. Instead, the completion rate for the two samples was about the same: 88 per cent for the experimental group and 90 per cent for the control group. These differences were not statistically significant.

At first glance these results appeared to cast serious doubt on the efficacy of the two principles set forth earlier, but later examination indicated that the letter had been of value in a different way than had been expected. The number of calls necessary to obtain the interview from the experimental group was significantly less than that required for the control group:

[8] Cf. W. L. Slocum and H. S. Swanson, *Egg Consumption Habits, Purchasing Patterns and Preferences of Seattle Consumers,* Washington Agricultural Experiment Stations Bulletin 556, State College of Washington, Pullman, 1954.

72 per cent of the interviews were completed in the experimental group on the first call in contrast to only 49 per cent in the control group. Further, 91 per cent of the interviews were completed in the experimental group in two calls in contrast to only 75 per cent for the control group. Thus, while the special efforts apparently did not increase the completion rate, they played a very useful function in reducing the number of interviewer calls. In this case, the savings in interviewing costs more than offset the expense of the letter technique.

Interviews were not obtained from 9.7 per cent of the sample (eighty-two households). In order to determine whether their lack of response had introduced a bias into study findings, the heads of each household were sent an abbreviated questionnaire by mail which would allow them to be compared on certain critical items with those who had responded. This questionnaire was sent with a covering letter explaining why the extra effort was being made to obtain a response from them. At the cut-off date for the first follow-up (three weeks later) 24 per cent had responded.

At this point it was decided to test the second principle—that of emphasizing the role of each respondent—by using a slightly different technique on the remaining non-respondents. Again an abbreviated questionnaire and letter of explanation were sent, but this time the remaining non-respondents were randomly divided into two groups. The first group, the experimental group, received their questionnaires and letters by means of special delivery mail service. The second group, the control, received theirs by the usual first class mail service.

Normal expectations would have been that fewer responses would be received on the second follow-up than on the first. Such was not the case: 36 per cent of the remaining non-respondents, in contrast to only 24 per cent on the first trial, responded. But even more striking was the fact that 86 per cent of those who responded on this trial were those who received a special delivery letter. Thus, even on a hard core of non-respondents, the principle of emphasizing the role of each individual in making the study a success appears to be important.

REASONS FOR STUDENT WITHDRAWALS FROM THE STATE COLLEGE OF WASHINGTON [9]

In this 1955 study, information was sought by mailed questionnaire from a random sample of 1019 representing all individuals who entered the State College of Washington as freshmen in three recent years.

The personalized letter which accompanied the questionnaire attempted to establish an image of social utility by indicating the interest of the college administration in taking steps to assist more students to fulfill their college expectations and continue their studies to graduation. The importance of the individual's contribution was also stressed.

The response from enrolled students indicated that most of them regarded the questionnaire as a genuine opportunity to communicate with the college administration. Altogether 99 per cent responded: 80 per cent to the initial communication; 10 per cent to a follow-up letter which stressed the importance of responding; and 9 per cent after personal contact by a representative of the Department of Rural Sociology.

Former students responded less readily: only 33 per cent answered the first letter. Therefore, some additional steps were taken to make them more aware of their importance to the study. A second letter and questionnaire were sent to them by air mail, and they were furnished with an air-mail return envelope with which to respond. This brought returns to 65 per cent. At the cut-off date for this letter, a third letter was sent by registered mail. However, at this point, one group of non-respondents was sent a registered letter which contained no special justification for the use of registered service while the second group was sent a letter which attempted to justify its use. Unfortunately, these two groups were not randomly selected.

First, it is notable that, after receiving registered mail, 63 per cent (84 persons) of the remaining non-respondents returned completed questionnaires. Second, those who received letters justifying the use of registered mail responded at a greater rate (70 per

cent) than those who did not (60 per cent).[10] This difference in response rates leads the writers to suggest that careful justification should be placed in the letter of transmittal when using an emotionally charged device such as registered or certified mail [11] for a questionnaire. In the present study, a type of registered mail was used which required the letter to be signed for by the person to whom it was addressed. Therefore, since many respondents were not at home when it first arrived, they had to go to the post office to obtain it. If a person travels a considerable distance to get what he expects to be an important personal communication and instead finds a questionnaire from some unknown organization, he is likely to feel that he has been duped, and, consequently, may not respond.[12]

CONCLUSIONS

The experiences described in this note lead us to believe that efforts to establish an image of the social utility of a survey and to emphasize the special role of each respondent in realizing its goal will maximize response. In order to utilize these principles, however, it seems necessary to improvise and design approaches to fit specific situations. We do not believe that the precise techniques employed in one successful survey will necessarily be most effective for another.

It would be desirable, in the interest of building a tested body of knowledge concerning survey techniques, for other investigators to report their experiences and also to experiment further on this subject.

[10] This response rate refers only to those who received their registered letters; 13.5 per cent (21 persons) did not because they had moved without leaving forwarding addresses.

[11] The U. S. Postal Service put into effect on the 6th day of July, 1955, a "Certified" mail service which should be a means of decreasing costs in this type of research. A certified letter can be sent for fifteen cents in lieu of the much greater costs for registered mail. It was originated for those who desire to utilize registered mail service without sending anything in the letter which is of great monetary value.

[12] In another study with which the writers are familiar, some cattlemen drove 40 or more miles to get a certified letter to find that it contained only a questionnaire and no explanatory letter. They expressed their objections to the use of certified mail in vigorous language.

[9] W. L. Slocum, *Academic Mortality at Washington State College*, unpublished manuscript.

COMMUNICATIONS AND OPINION

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ANXIETY AMONG ENGLISH AND AMERICAN BOYS—AN EMENDATION

To the Editor:

This is more than an emendation and requires an explanation. After the original paper appeared (The *Review*, December, 1955, pp. 685–689) it was determined, beyond doubt, that a transposition of response codes had occurred when the data were taken from IBM tabulations. The original article, therefore, contains a re-

curring error. Such a mistake in research is most regrettable and, although the error was not mine, I have the final responsibility for the American part of the study. My English colleagues did not participate in this analysis. The error does not affect other publications in the larger study. A more complete analysis of this section is planned as a monograph.

The accompanying table presents the cor-

TABLE 1. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ANXIETY RESPONSES BY SOCIAL CLASS

Statement Which "Worries Me a Lot"	Social Class I		Social Class II		Social Class III	
	U.S. N=242	England N=89	U.S. N=320	England N=349	U.S. N=182	England N=162
A* Relative to parents and siblings:						
Mother does not treat me right	31.0	25.8	29.1	30.1	22.0	35.8
Father does not treat me right	24.8	23.6	19.1	26.4	17.6	29.0
Parents expect too much of me	19.0	28.1	20.3	24.4	15.9	26.5
Parents do not understand me	28.5	39.3	27.8	40.1	21.4	38.3
Parents do not seem to care enough for me	28.9	38.2	23.4	37.3	27.5	40.1
Do not know how to show parents how much I care for them	25.2	48.3	29.1	55.3	26.4	56.2
Parents want me to be a different kind of boy	21.1	28.1	19.7	26.9	22.0	29.6
My brothers and sisters seem to do things better than I can	7.4	6.7	6.6	9.7	7.1	15.4
Parents like my brothers and sisters better than me	14.9	19.1	12.8	12.3	13.2	17.3
Mean	22.3	28.6	20.9	29.2	19.2	32.0
B* Relative to self adequacy:						
Lack self-confidence	35.1	40.5	31.9	43.0	27.5	49.4
Feel inferior	23.6	15.7	15.6	20.1	9.9	22.2
Have to take second place to other boys	16.1	18.0	10.3	19.5	14.8	19.1
Feel like an outsider	22.3	32.6	18.8	31.8	18.7	25.3
Not popular	28.5	36.0	25.6	33.8	17.0	34.0
Tire easily	21.9	24.7	14.1	29.5	17.0	33.3
Mean	24.6	27.9	19.4	29.6	17.5	30.6
C* Relative to material symbols of status:						
Want to live in a nicer house	3.3	5.6	3.1	13.8	6.0	17.3
Too few nice clothes	8.7	19.1	8.1	27.5	11.5	29.0
Have less money than others	7.0	14.6	3.8	14.3	6.6	27.2
Not enough money for pleasures	10.3	15.7	12.8	17.8	10.1	25.9
Mean	7.3	13.8	7.0	18.4	8.6	24.9
D* Relative to Girls:						
Think too much about girls	8.3	15.7	7.2	14.0	6.6	13.0
Want to have a girl friend	14.9	21.3	16.3	20.1	13.7	21.0
Do not mix well with girls	21.1	18.0	21.6	26.1	23.6	24.1
Girls make fun of me	26.9	22.5	24.7	17.2	20.3	13.6
Mean	17.8	19.4	17.5	19.4	16.1	17.9

* The weighted national means for each area are: (A) U. S., 20.9; England, 29.9; (B) U. S., 20.6; England, 29.6; (C) U. S., 7.5; England, 19.5; (D) U. S. 17.3; England, 19.0. United States (N = 744); England (N = 600).

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rected data relative to evidences of anxiety in two nationality groups (London and Seattle-Spokane) of thirteen- and fourteen-year old boys by social class. The social-class groups were formed on the basis of the occupations of the boys' fathers. Both samples responded to the same worries check list which provided for three possible responses: "worries me a lot," "worries me a little," and "does not worry me." The response "worries me a lot" was considered evidence of generic anxiety. Items were selected from the check list and regrouped with reference to certain social situations as indicated in the table. Inasmuch as the table below presents what amounts to a new set of data, the previous "findings" must be largely disregarded. An interpretation of the present data will not be attempted here; however, it may be noted that there is considerable consistency of response by nationality group. In each area, nationality differences are greater than class differences. The English boys evidence what appears to be significantly more concern than do the American boys in relation to their parents and siblings, self-adequacy, and symbols of status. The nationality differences are slight, however, in feelings about girls—the English boys showing more concern, particularly in the more covert behavior.

When compared by social class, the greatest differences are found between English III and U. S. III (the two working classes) except for the statements concerning girls, in which instance the differences are slight. Social class differences within the nationality groups are consistently small. Distinguishable trends may be noted, however, in relation to each category. English III appears to be the most concerned about relations with parents and siblings and English II the least, whereas U. S. I and II are somewhat more disturbed than is U. S. III about these relationships. A similar trend is seen in relation to self-adequacy, but the differences may be too small to be meaningful. In the area concerned with status symbols, English III evidences the most concern and English I the least; differences between the U. S. social classes are small. Class differences in relation to girls do not appear to be significant in either nationality group.

It should be emphasized that anxiety, as defined here, does not imply pathology, but rather may be a factor in adjustment to social reality. An analysis of these data in relation to research in social stratification in England and the United States, and in the light of recent studies of national character, is in progress.

JOEL B. MONTAGUE, JR.

State College of Washington

COMMENT ON R. A. NISBET'S REVIEW OF *THE TYRANNY OF PROGRESS* BY ALBERT SALOMON

To the Editor:

Contrary to the impression given by Professor Nisbet's review [*American Sociological Review*, 20 (October, 1955), pp. 600–601], Professor Salomon's book is only incidentally "a study of the fanatic visionary, of the dedicated intellectual" (it is rather puzzling why these two should be made to appear synonymous by their juxtaposition) and is not concerned "with the intellectual who seeks transformation of society as the means of assuaging disquiet in his own soul." Saint-Simon and Comte are analyzed as the formulators of sociology. While there is the illuminating Chapter 2 on these "messionic bohemians," pertinent as a sociological inquiry into certain types of intellectuals, and there are some remarks on the psychology of the resentment of these founders of sociology (pp. 101 ff.), the focus is on the sociology they developed, not on its psychological or biographical setting. The purpose of the book is indicated by its title and subtitle.

Its importance lies in the attempt to show how we, practitioners of sociology, started and, by implication, whither, and how little or much, we have moved. Sociology, made possible by the antecedent recognition of the development which led to the separation between society and state (13 f.), is, in its origin, "the Jacobinism of the 'cursed revolution' combined with a vision of centralized authority" (15), thus has "an affinity" or "tendency toward totalitarianism" (15), and is, as Professor Nisbet notes, eschatological. It encouraged the "specifically modern dichotomy between the rationalism of science and the irrationalism of the affections" (54) and created a mythical, demonic opposition between itself and the "anarchic" subjectivism of its time (69 f.).

The point is not that "Saint-Simon and Comte were . . . of totalitarian stuff," as Professor Nisbet puts it, but that their sociology "showed the way to total revolution at a time when capitalism was still in its early stages" (23). To have its full impact, the book demands two efforts of us: a critical examination of its arguments and the acquisition of a new historical awareness of ourselves as sociologists. Certainly, sociology has a history, in the course of which it has abandoned (rather than, I believe, transcended) its origins, and the sociologists named by Professor Nisbet in an effort to show that sociology is "at the opposite pole from the totalitarian perspective" surely cannot be called totalitarian, nor do I imagine that Salomon would call them such. But

some of the characteristics of early French sociology recalled in the preceding paragraph, combined with others, also characterize contemporary, especially American, sociology. It might be suggested that the pre-Historicist normative society, be it Comte's or Hegel's, was destroyed by Historicism, and that modern "scientific" sociology denies any such a concept access to its awareness and vocabulary. The burned child fears the fire but allows it to be tended and fed by forces beyond its control. A book which brings up (many) considerations of this sort and presents us with the challenges attendant upon them should not be praised as just another

bargain, "small in size but large in meaning and insight."

KURT H. WOLFF

The Ohio State University

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

To the Editor:

NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

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OBITUARY

The *Review* records with regret the death of Thomas L. Sidlo of Cleveland, Ohio, an emeritus member of the Society. Mr. Sidlo was Chairman of the Standing Committee on Public Relations, American Bar Association; President of the Musical Arts Association of Cleveland; Chairman of the Northern Ohio Opera Association; and a member of the Board of Directors of the Metropolitan Opera Association.

Catholic Institute for Social-Ecclesiastical Research (The Netherlands branch of the International Catholic Institute for Social Research) announces a $5,000 international contest on the population problems of underdeveloped areas. A brochure outlining the rules of the contest may be secured from the Institute at 28–30 Paul Gabrielstraat, The Hague, Netherlands. Full details are contained in *Social Compass*, Vol. 2, Nos. 5/6. This issue may be ordered for $1 from Pax International Publishing Co., Ltd., Jan van Nassaustraat 34, The Hague.

National Institute of Mental Health announces the following new grants in sociology: to Robert T. Bower and Harry J. Walker, American University, for a study on integration and the social adjustment of school children; to Thomas J. Harte, The Catholic University of America, for a genetic study in Charles and Prince Georges Counties.

Society for the Study of Social Problems. The officers of the society for 1955–56 are: President, Arnold M. Rose, University of Minnesota; President Elect, Mabel A. Elliott, Pennsylvania College for Women; Vice-President, Byron Fox, Syracuse University; Secretary, Harry W. Robert, Virginia State College, Petersburg; and Treasurer, Sidney H. Aronson, Brooklyn College.

Boston University. Norval Morris, Associate Professor in the Faculty of Law at the University of Melbourne, Australia, is teaching a course in American and European Correctional Systems during the second semester.

Brown University. Sidney Goldstein of the University of Pennsylvania has joined the staff as Assistant Professor and Director of Research Studies.

Jack Preiss of the University of Missouri is Lecturer in Sociology. Preiss simultaneously holds a Russell Sage Residency at the Emma Pendleton Bradley Home.

Robert O. Schulze of the University of Michigan has been appointed Instructor.

Walter Buckley of the University of Wisconsin is serving as Teaching Intern under a grant from the Fund for the Advancement of Education.

Vincent Whitney has resumed his duties as chairman of the department after a semester on leave.

Shigemi Kono holds a Population Council Fellowship.

University of Chicago. An interdisciplinary team has begun a two year project, under a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health, to assess objective criteria of aging and determinants of retirement. The research team consists of Emmett B. Bay of the School of Medicine, Ward C. Halstead of the Department of Psychology, Robert K. Burns of the School of Business, and Robert W. Kleemeier of the University of Florida. The project is being directed by Leonard Z. Breen.

The Family Study Center will offer a workshop on Family Life Education and Evaluation, July 9–27. For further information, write to Mrs. Winifred L. O'Donnell, Secretary, Family Study Center, University of Chicago, Chicago 37.

Iowa State College. New appointments include Robert Hamblin, University of Michigan Ph.D., and Ralph Luebben, Cornell Ph.D., as Assistant Professors, and Robert Herman as Instructor.

Frank DiPaul has accepted a position at Northern Illinois State College, and William Dyer at Brigham Young University.

Work is continuing toward developing an integrated graduate program in family life. David Fulcomer is chairman of an interdepartmental Committee on Family Relations Instruction.

Newly appointed part time staff members include John Harp, Dean Hoffman, Amy Russell, and Maury Voland.

The University of Kansas City. Ernest Manheim, Chairman of the Department of Sociology, is Fulbright Professor in Austria, lecturing at the University of Graz in the fall semester and at the University of Vienna in the spring. He will return in late July.

During the spring semester Howard S. Becker, Irwin Deutscher, Dan C. Lortie, and Elijah L. White of Community Studies, Inc., Kansas City, and Wolfgang G. Roeseler, Senior Planner of the City Plan Commission of Kansas City are Lecturers.

Mary Washington College of the University of Virginia. L. Clyde Carter, Jr., Assistant Professor of Sociology, has received the Ph.D. from Yale University.

University of Michigan. The Survey Research Center will hold its Annual Summer Institute in Survey Research Techniques from July 23 to August 18, with introductory courses offered from June 25 to July 20.

Michigan State University. C. P. Loomis has been invited to serve as a special consultant to

the Public Health Service as a member of the newly established Hospital Facilities Research Study Section.

Ruth Useem, who has served on the staff as Instructor and Research Associate, has been nominated to membership in the committee on educational inter-exchange policy of the Institute of International Education.

D. L. Gibson has been appointed co-ordinator of Continuing Education for the College of Science and Arts. He will retain his professorship in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology on a part-time basis.

University of Minnesota. Beginning with the academic year 1956–57, the Graduate School will institute a four-year program of integrated training leading to the doctoral degree for students who intend to follow research careers in one or a combination of the following: economics, political science, sociology, social anthropology, or psychology. A small number of students will be given fellowship and assistantship support from a grant to the University by the Behavioral Sciences Division of the Ford Foundation and from departmental budgets. For further information write: The Social Science Research Center, 408 Johnston Hall, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis 14.

Mississippi: The State College and the University. New members of the State College staff include Wilfrid C. Bailey, Ph.D., University of Chicago, and J. V. D. Saunders, Ph.D., University of Florida. Harald A. Pedersen has been promoted to the rank of Professor, and Dorris W. Rivers has been promoted to Associate Professor.

Harald A. Pedersen has resumed his research and teaching duties after a year's leave of absence in Denmark, where he was a Fulbright exchange professor at the Royal College of Agricultural and Veterinary Science.

Marion T. Loftin is in charge of a study of the role of the practical nurse in Mississippi hospitals. The project is being conducted for the State Department of Vocational Education and is part of a series of studies in this area financed by the Kellogg Foundation.

Harold Kaufman and Morton King have completed a survey of the first phase of a community development project in a small rural community in the Yazoo-Mississippi Delta.

University of Missouri. Toimi E. Kyllonen has returned from Finland where he spent the academic year 1954–55 on a Fulbright research appointment making a study of social organization in industry. He has been advanced to the rank of Associate Professor.

Richard Keslin, who has been doing graduate work at Wisconsin, has been appointed Instructor in Anthropology.

C. T. Pihlblad is preparing a report of research on internal migration in Norway which he carried on under a Fulbright appointment.

Edwin A. Christ has been appointed research associate in sociology. He and Robert Habenstein have just completed a study of the professional nurse in Central Missouri.

The City College of New York. Robert M. MacIver, Lieber Professor Emeritus of Political Philosophy and Sociology, Columbia University, will direct a five-year evaluation study of juvenile delinquency programs in the City of New York. Sophia M. Robison, Professor Emeritus of the New York School of Social Work, Columbia University, will serve as Assistant Director half time.

Warren Brown, Assistant Professor, is spending the year in Cairo, Egypt, as a Fulbright Lecturer at the American University.

Lawrence Podell, formerly at the University of Buffalo, has joined the staff as Instructor in Sociology.

North Carolina State College. The college has received a grant from the Kellogg Foundation for the purpose of making a five-year study of the new farm and home development intensive educational program of the North Carolina Agricultural Extension Service. The project is under the direction of the State College Department of Rural Sociology: Frederick L. Bates, assistant professor, is the project leader, and C. Paul Marsh, assistant professor, is associate leader. Marsh was formerly assistant rural sociologist at the University of Kentucky.

Selz C. Mayo has been promoted to professor of rural sociology.

The University of Florida, North Carolina State College, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, and the Southern Regional Education Board are jointly sponsoring a series of cooperative summer sessions in statistics. The third of these summer sessions will be held at North Carolina State College, June 11–July 20, 1956. The session will be held jointly with the Institute in Quantitative Research Methods in Agricultural Economics, sponsored by the Social Science Research Council. Inquiries should be addressed to: Professor J. A. Rigney, Department of Experimental Statistics, North Carolina State College, Raleigh.

Northwestern University. Francis L. K. Hsu, Professor of Anthropology, has embarked on an extended study of the Hindu way of life. He and his family will remain in India until fall of 1957. The project is supported by grants from the Wenner-Gren Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Indian government.

University of Oregon. J. M. Foskett has been promoted to Professor. He is devoting half-time this year to directing the Kellogg Community Study Project on community leadership structure.

Will Drum has been promoted to Associate Professor, and T. B. Johannis, Jr. to Assistant Professor. Johannis continues his studies of division of labor in the family and the family in suburban and fringe areas.

Joel V. Berreman has been appointed for the current year as Senior Fulbright lecturer at the University of the Philippines.

Walter T. Martin continues his population studies under grants from the S.S.R.C. and the University Research Board.

John C. Scott, Jr. has joined the faculty as

Assistant Professor. Formerly an Assistant Professor at the University of Chicago, he was engaged as a research associate on the Kansas City Study of Adult Life.

Ely Chertok has joined the department as Instructor. He formerly taught at the Universities of California, Los Angeles, and Washington and received his doctorate from the latter institution.

Robert Dubin, Department Head, was co-winner of the Helen DeRoy Award of SSSP with his paper, "Industrial Workers' Worlds."

Robin M. Williams, Jr. of Cornell University will conduct a research training seminar during the 1956 summer session. Seminar members will carry out a single study on "Social Values and Social Participation." The Social Science Research Council is cooperating by providing some financial support for this experiment in graduate education. Admission will be by application only. Scholarships covering tuition and living expenses are available. Inquiries should be directed to the department head.

University of Pennsylvania. Eleanor Stoker Boll, Research Associate of the William T. Carter Foundation for Child Development since 1940, has been appointed Assistant Professor of Sociology.

The University of Rochester. An Institute on Minority Groups in the United States was conducted between October 17 and December 5, 1955. The speakers included Wayne Leys, Rev. John LaFarge, John Collier, Oscar Handlin, Ira de A. Reid, Dorothy Swaine Thomas, Clarence Senior, and Joseph B. Gittler. The Institute is an outgrowth of the Center for the Study of Group Relations.

Nicholas Babchuk has been appointed Assistant Professor.

Rutgers University. The Institute of Management and Labor Relations has received a grant from the National Institutes of Health for an eighteen month study of the role of the hospital nurse. The research project is being conducted by Myron J. Lefcowitz, Research Associate, with the assistance of the Sociology Department.

Syracuse University. The 1956 Summer Sessions Institute on Japan Studies will be conducted July 2–August 10. A number of scholarships are available through the generosity of the Asia Foundation and the Japan Society, sponsoring organizations of the Institute. Further information may be obtained from Prof. Douglas G. Haring, coordinator, Japan Studies, Syracuse University, Syracuse 10, N. Y.

Trinity College. Those teaching the sociology of religion in a university or college or conducting research in this field are asked to send brief details to Dr. Eva J. Ross, Trinity College, Washington 17, D. C. Dr. Ross has been asked to send a detailed report on the Sociology of Religion in the U. S. A. to the secretary of the Conference Internationale de Sociologie Religieuse by April this year, to enable him in turn to have a world resumé to present to the triennial meeting of the society in Louvain, Belgium, August 31–September 2, 1956.

Tulane University. A Ph.D. major in social psychology, in either sociology or psychology, is now being offered through the co-operation of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology and the Department of Psychology.

Harlan W. Gilmore has been promoted to Professor and Leonard Reissman to Associate Professor.

Mary Hanemann Lystad, who received her Ph.D. in sociology in 1955, has been awarded a post-doctoral grant in mental health by the State of Louisiana. Charles D. Whatley has received a similar grant.

Harlan W. Gilmore has completed a study of casualties related to alcoholism for the State Commission on Alcoholism.

University of Utah. Robert S. Gray, Ph.D., Chicago, has been appointed Assistant Professor. He was recently head of the department of sociology at Highlands University, Las Vegas, New Mexico. Mamoru Iga, Ph.D., Utah, was appointed graduate teaching assistant.

Two state-wide surveys have recently been completed by members of the staff: Rex A. Skidmore directed a "Survey of the Incidence of Cerebral Palsy." William M. McPhee directed a "Survey of the Incidence of Epilepsy."

At the June convocation of the University the board of regents conferred the honorary degree, LL.D., on Arthur L. Beeley, Chairman of the Department, and Dean of the Graduate School of Social Work.

Vanderbilt University. The *Race Relations Law Reporter* began publication in February, 1956. The bi-monthly periodical publishes decisions of courts, provisions of state constitutions, acts of state legislatures, ordinances of municipalities, opinions of attorneys-general, regulations of state departments of education, and rulings of local boards of education. The subscription price is $2 for six issues.

State College of Washington. Milton A. Maxwell has received a grant of $5,500 from the Washington State College Committee on Research for the analysis of life stress factors in alcoholic patients at the Shadel Sanitarium, Seattle.

Walter L. Slocum, Murray A. Straus, and Albert G. Kristjanson of Rural Sociology are working in co-operation with the Department of Agricultural Economics and Agricultural Extension Service on a five-year study of methods used in Agricultural Extension, which is supported by a grant to the State College of Washington of $50,000, by the W. K. Kellogg Foundation.

Harry Elmer Barnes returned to the Department for a short series of lectures in criminology during the fall semester.

Paul Honigsheim is guest lecturer, spring semester, 1956.

Yale University. The Summer School of Alcohol Studies will hold its fourteenth annual session in 1956 from July 1–26. For more information write to Registrar, Summer School of Alcohol Studies, 52 Hillhouse Avenue, Yale Station, New Haven, Conn.

BOOK REVIEWS

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Survey Design and Analysis: Principles, Cases and Procedures. By HERBERT HYMAN. With a foreword by PAUL F. LAZARSFELD. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955. xxviii, 425 pp. $7.50.

For the survey researcher, nothing can quite match the fascination of manipulating variables after the IBM cards have finally been punched. This book, however, represents an ambitious, and generally successful, attempt to impart a stronger sense of basic discipline to what has hitherto been largely the personal property of the expert analyst.

The present volume is a product of the Columbia University Planning Project for Advanced Training in Social Research whose goal is "to develop skills" by "transmitting experiences" (p. xi). This "internship" approach most certainly deserves a serious try, despite the danger that such a cook-book approach often presents to creativity. The present book will certainly be "must" reading for all working survey analysts and for teachers of the survey method. It does seem too advanced, however, for the run-of-the-mill methods course, or for the beginning survey researcher.

The book is divided into four parts, two of which this reviewer found interesting, but largely irrelevant to the book's expressed purpose. Part I on "The Orientation of the Survey Analyst" and Part IV on "The Utilization of Survey Findings and the Functions of the Analyst" raise such important but peripheral questions as "Sponsorship of Inquiry and Subsidization" (pp. 40 to 56) and "The Application of Public Opinion Surveys to the Determination of Public Policy" (pp. 334 to 348). Considering the oversize nature of the book, Parts I and IV do not carry their weight. As Lazarsfeld recognizes in his introduction these sections "go beyond the original assignment" (p. xvi).

Part II on "Descriptive Surveys" and Part III on "Explanatory Surveys" represent the heart of the book. Hyman makes a clear-cut distinction between "description" and "explanation" as two basically different types of studies. In this reviewer's experience, however, they are really two different stages of analysis. Hyman's extreme position is indicated by his comment, "If anything, he (the descriptive analyst) should be prohibited from such (ex-

planatory) analysis!" (p. 122). Furthermore, his proposal to develop a pure "explanatory" design by narrow restriction of one's sample seems to eliminate one of the most powerful assets of the "ex post facto" survey design involving sub-group comparisons. Since there can be no explanation without description and since most surveys undertake to do both, Hyman's divorcement of descriptive and explanatory surveys might better be viewed as didactic rather than essential.

Under descriptive surveys, Hyman treats such theoretical problems as the distinction between cognitive, attitudinal and behavioral questions, selection of time, space and population to be studied, evaluation of descriptive findings, and such technical problems as estimating errors, qualifying conclusions and reporting procedures. In the explanatory survey chapters, Hyman deals with the basic theoretical and technical problems involved in interpreting a simple correlation and in introducing additional variables for testing spuriousness and for elaboration. These chapters do a magnificent job of describing and illustrating the more sophisticated techniques of correlational analysis. But do these techniques represent methodological principles? Too often Hyman must take recourse to such apologies as, "We have been unable to establish formal criteria up to this time" (p. 263), "There is no hard and fast rule" (p. 314), "What is one man's relevance, is another's irrelevance" (p. 254) etc., etc. This lack of established principles requires Hyman to rely a little too frequently upon the heavy weight of authority. The correct procedure is what the "reasonable" analyst does. "Ingenuity" is a must, and the ultimate in praise is to be able to state, "the device which he (Merton) used was an indirect and ingenious one" (p. 270).

A pioneering effort such as this must almost inevitably be uneven and controversial. In one man's opinion, the following list summarizes previously unmentioned likes and dislikes.

Likes: (1) The "case-book" use of seven major studies. (2) Excellent footnoting. Bibliographical references of direct relevance to points being discussed. (3) Documentation and illustration from current, often unpublished, studies. An admirable "finger-tip" knowledge of what is going on in survey research. (4)

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Imaginative and productive re-analysis of published materials (suggesting the high premium in survey analysis upon hindsight). (5) Detailed table of contents and index of "Illustrative Materials for Training." (6) The brilliant "survey-analysis" of Durkheim's *Suicide*.

Dislikes: (1) The isolated-hypothesis approach, which fails to view the problem of survey design and analysis as a whole, requiring the development of an analysis model for integrating many different hypotheses. (2) The accent on "secondary" analysis and serendipity, rather than initial hypothesis formulation. (3) Complete lack of tie-in to other aspects of the survey method which affect design and analysis i.e., questionaire construction and field administration. (4) No mention of problems of definitional analysis (i.e., scale analysis, typological classification, index construction). While these will be the subject of a separate volume, the statement of certain basic essentials would have helped this book, especially the section on descriptive surveys. (5) Absence of any discussion of the problem of determining "cutting-points" for marginal distributions used in descriptive analysis. (6) The total lack of *any* section or chapter summaries, and the absence of summary lists of principles or procedures. (7) Finally, this reviewer must voice a distinct disappointment at the superficial exercises, and annoyance at the $7.50 additional charge for a 65 cent deck of punch-cards, which are used only for 3 minor demonstrations, not analytic exercises. These so-called exercises, together with the appendices of questionnaires and coding instructions fail to fulfill a real need, and promise the reader something which is simply not delivered.

On the whole, this initial, large-scale attempt to systematize survey design and analysis does offer much that is of both practical and methodological importance. One looks forward to the other publications in this series.

EDWARD A. SUCHMAN
Cornell University

The Development of Academic Freedom in the United States. By RICHARD HOFSTADTER and WALTER P. METZGER. New York: Columbia University Press, 1955. xvi, 527 pp. $5.50.
Academic Freedom in Our Time. By ROBERT M. MACIVER. New York: Columbia University Press, 1955. xiv, 329 pp. $4.00.

In keeping with Columbia University's Bicentennial theme in 1954—"Man's right to knowledge and the free use thereof"—this study was prepared for the American Academic Freedom

Project. It consists of two parts or books, "one a historical survey of the rise, development, and vicissitudes of academic freedom in this country, the other an analysis of the contemporary situation and a study of the problems it presents, against a background designed to bring out the significance of academic freedom and its relation to the society in which we live."

The volume by Hofstadter and Metzger is a painstaking work of documentation, arrangement, and analysis. Avoiding the distortions inevitable in an exclusive use of the case approach, they have succeeded in rising above what could easily have been a "pathology of the problem." Wisely, they are as much concerned with those forces creating and sustaining academic freedom as with those suppressing it.

Beginning with the European heritage, it is shown that initially there was a large measure of self-government, not so much by design as by default. The weakening of dogma, the competition of sects, and the rise of pluralism led to tolerance in the realm of ideas. Yet as the universities became more heavily endowed with property "they became timid and immobile." Through the centuries, the unsteady growth of academic freedom has been variously encouraged and impeded, at times by one set of circumstances, at times by another.

The colonial colleges of America brought some new elements into the pattern. Denominational sponsorship, the absence of professional and advanced faculties, lay control, and other features produced lasting effects. The office of the president assumed much more importance than its European equivalent. How these factors operated at such institutions as Harvard, William and Mary, Yale, and Princeton is shown in considerable detail.

Despite the demands for orthodoxy, with the rise of science and the secularization of learning, there was a necessity for more freedom of inquiry. Even so, the old American college was predominantly authoritarian and paternalistic. Only with the introduction of the German university idea to the American scene was there any real shift in emphasis from "conserving to searching." Only then did the professor cease to be a *pater-familias* to collegiate youth and become something resembling an independent professional man. *The Development of Academic Freedom in the United States* concludes with a statement of the significance of the Association of American University Professors, both as a "culmination and a beginning."

This book ends on the optimistic note that presently things are not so bad as they seem,

and views the growth of academic freedom as one of the "remarkable achievements of man." Although the subject matter of the treatise is necessarily fraught with controversy, the authors' handling of it, both as to care in evaluating sources and objectivity of analysis, is never polemic. Aside from a fairly considerable number of interesting digressions not essential to the main theme, the delineation is excellent throughout.

Dr. MacIver's book is likewise an interesting contribution to the literature of academic freedom. To avoid invidious comparisons with the preceding volume, however, it would have to be weighed on a different set of scales. His approach to the subject is largely in terms of concrete cases, or open attacks on academic freedom in recent years. Moving from one instance of conflict to another, he proceeds to his generalizations, always eloquently but often loosely. We are painfully reminded of book censorship, loyalty oaths, the ineptitudes of governing boards, the unwarranted interferences of patriotic bodies, the investigating committees, and so on, in our own time, and have incisively argued for us how precarious a thing academic freedom can become. His conclusion is that the weight of authority in the United States is now adverse to the principle of intellectual freedom. Unfortunately, or perhaps fortunately, the method employed by the author to arrive at this conclusion also might be used to assemble materials to support a quite different conclusion.

LOGAN WILSON

University of Texas

Society: Collective Behavior, News and Opinion, Sociology and Modern Society. By ROBERT EZRA PARK. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955. 358 pp. $5.00.

This is the third and last volume of Professor Robert Ezra Park's papers. The five editors, headed by Professor Everett C. Hughes, deserve great credit for bringing together these writings. This volume presents twenty-one of Professor Park's papers published between 1918 and 1942. Many are as fresh and cogent today as when originally prepared. They were addresses, prefaces to or chapters in books, or articles in journals. Most first appeared in the *American Journal of Sociology*, but some were published in other social or natural science journals.

The articles demonstrate Dr. Park's scholarship, and his knowledge and observation of and interest in a wide range of things sociological. There are descriptions and comments about many phases of collective behavior, critical analyses of the work of others, and articles

dealing with current needs as well as shrewd observations on methodology.

It seems certain that many of Professor Park's former students will be most happy to own these collected papers and to read them again. One cannot help feeling the strength of a powerful personality emanating from almost every paragraph. No doubt the papers will help his students recall many of the things he discussed in his classes and the catholic interest he had. To other students who have no firsthand personal acquaintance with him these papers should serve a useful purpose also. A reading of this volume as well as the other two can acquaint today's students with the detailed thinking of one of sociology's "Grand Old Men," and they will gain in breadth and understanding through the many references to authors not commonly discussed in today's sociological literature. Perhaps something of the anti-provincial nature of Park's reading will project over to them; for, he does not hesitate to comment on and refer to many who are not sociologists, though they may write on sociological topics. Indeed, he asserts in the chapter entitled "Industrial Fatigue and Group Morale" that "one of the obstacles to social research hitherto has been the difficulty of analyzing concrete social problems in such a way as to fit the categories or compartments of the existing social sciences." We are afraid that this tendency still exists and that many sociology students never do get away from narrow compartmentalism either in their reading or research. If in no other way, this volume and the others can be most helpful to those studying the history and development of sociology. Park, as many know, has made one of the clearest statements of sociology's place in the social sciences. The article in which his analysis was first set forth is contained in this volume.

Although all of these papers are available in other places, "availability," as Professor Hughes states in the book's preface, "is a relative matter." Now we can get a better understanding not only of Park's ideas, but of Park as a man. Even though it may be doubtful whether all of these writings can be taken over wholly, one cannot help being impressed with the wealth of observation and the understanding grasp of society and human conduct which Professor Park expressed.

Almost uniformly the papers are of the highest quality and deserve attention. We recommend them and thank the editors and publisher for making them available in this convenient form.

H. ASHLEY WEEKS

New York University

Science and Social Action. Josiah Mason Lectures delivered at the University of Birmingham. By W. J. H. SPROTT. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1954. 164 pp. $3.50.

This slim volume comprises the Josiah Mason Lectures for 1953 delivered at the University of Birmingham by Professor Sprott, a philosopher who teaches sociology, of the University of Nottingham. The lectures give an excellent overview for non-sociologists of what is going on in sociology.

Readers of the *Review* will find much of the detailed explanation of the sorts of research being carried on elementary. We in the United States are well acquainted with the work of Moreno, of Kurt Lewin, of Elton Mayo, and their several followers. More of us will be interested in Sprott's review of Eisenstadt's work on migrants to Israel because we are less familiar with it. On the theoretical side, Americans will find the discussion of Parsons' work illuminating. It is doubtful whether it has ever been interpreted with more clarity.

The principal value of the book to sociologists is the useful critique it provides of what we are doing and what we are thinking. This critique is not concentrated in one lecture but is scattered through all of them, sometimes in passing comments. An example of an important criticism is his contention that sociologists are often satisfied with an explanation in terms of human nature, which he says is really only a plausible halfway house. If we were worth our salt, we would link social effects back to social causes. Again, Sprott questions the whole notion that *society* has needs or functions. He thinks that we tend to assume consensus when it does not exist. One gathers that he would operate in terms of sub-cultures more than cultures and would be very wary of imputing more than a nominal unity to society as a whole.

In the penultimate lecture Sprott discusses historical sociology cogently. He doubts that we will ever be able to make long-term predictions but he does believe we will learn how "to work out the limitations within which future developments are likely to occur." In the last lecture, on the sociology of knowledge, Sprott as philosopher is right at home. The series ends on a note of sociological skepticism. Sprott is afraid that the standards of scientific validity are themselves social products so that no scientist can ever really prove that his theory is correct.

ROBERT C. ANGELL

University of Michigan

Higher Civil Servants in Britain from 1870 to the Persent Day. By R. K. KELSALL. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, Limited, 1955. xi, 233 pp. U. S. distributor, Grove Press. $6.00.

This welcome addition to the growing body of knowledge concerning social stratification and social mobility is part of a wider research program, "the first main results of which were published in July 1954 in a symposium, *Social Mobility in Britain,* edited by D. V. Glass." Specifically, Mr. Kelsall states that his work fits into the category of studies of particular groups or professions "whose place in the power structure of the community, or in the process of social mobility, could be regarded as 'critical'."

Some of the questions which Mr. Kelsall attempts to answer are the following: "From which social strata is the Higher Administrative Class now being drawn, and what changes have taken place in this respect over the last eighty years or so? . . . Are we witnessing a second revolution, in that the hold of the upper-middle class on the higher administrative posts is now seriously jeopardized? How far have the developments that have taken place been the result of policy changes either in the recruitment of direct entrants, or in the promotion of those originally entering the lower classes of the Service? To what extent have the fathers of senior officials themselves been members of this or closely allied occupations? What has been the relationship between the social origin, education and upbringing of higher civil servants on the one hand, and their career-success on the other? Has there been any marked change in the status of their profession?"

One can only be favorably impressed with the careful work which has gone into finding the answers to these and other questions. A variety of source materials have been ingeniously exploited, the methodology has been critically evaluated with respect to reliability and validity, and conclusions are, on the whole, thoughtfully formulated.

Of special interest to the American audience will be the chapter concerning the social origin of the higher civil servant primarily because of the possibilities of comparison with some recent occupational studies completed in this country. This analysis is based on an examination of father's occupation at the time of the civil servant's birth for three time periods: 1929, 1939, and 1950. In addition, the author extends this discussion by compiling social

origin data for the occupants of six key posts for 1888, 1912, 1929, and 1950.

The reader, however, will find much of the book (with the exception of the chapter on the nature of the profession) rather slow going. The text is frequently crowded with detailed descriptions of methodological procedures and numerous tables which could have been profitably relegated to appendices. As a result, important conclusions are often not sufficiently highlighted. Along this same line, one wonders if all the historical materials concerning the various regulations and committee proposals relating to the Civil Service are necessary. This too results in important general statements or implications being obscured by the mass of particulars.

Although many questions are raised throughout the book which can be answered only through the utilization of other types of data, particularly interview data, the author in general accomplishes the tasks which he set for himself. Thus, the book is a must for anyone seriously interested in the study of occupations —especially occupational mobility.

WENDELL BELL

Northwestern University

Sociologie comparée de la famille contemporaine. COLLOQUES INTERNATIONAUX DU CENTRE NATIONAL DE LA RECHERCHE SCIENTIFIQUE. Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1955. 218 pp. 1.000 frs.

This stimulating book reports the activities of an international conference conducted by the *Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.* The scope of comparative family study is somewhat narrowly conceived for the contributors, and discussion participants represent, for the most part, merely the western European countries of France, Belgium, Italy, Germany, and England. American participation was strikingly lacking and no American sociologist was included among scholars who sent regrets. Professors from Hamburg, Florence and the London School of Economics served as specialists in the family life of their respective countries. The University of Paris played a dominant role in the organization of the conference.

The organization of the book consists of eleven formal papers each followed by recorded discussion and occasionally an appendix of detailed factual material. Bibliographies are given, separated by works in French, English, German and Italian. The more extensive French writings are classified by topic. It is interesting to note that the more limited and less analytical bibliography of works in English contains no book identifiable as the work of an American sociologist. This fact, no doubt, is good medicine for American sociological ethnocentrism. In the text only R. C. Angell and Margaret Mead receive mention.

The nature of the book is well indicated by the eleven topics chosen for formal analysis and subsequent general discussion; namely, the family in France under the old regime, the transformations of the family in France since the Revolution, demography and family structures in France, statistical aspects of the family problem, the family in Germany, the English family, family structures in Italy, sociology of the rural family of the traditional type, the bourgois family, parents and children in the worker family and finally a synthesis and conclusion.

It is striking that in spite of no formal recognition of American sociology the conference dealt with familiar basic concepts in less familiar words. One can think intelligently about changing family functions without mentioning Ogburn and trace the transition from institution to companionship without mentioning Burgess or Locke. Fundamentally the conference centered upon technological change as affecting familial differences and uniformities within the dimensions of time, space and social class. The participants found occasion to remind each other repeatedly that the family is an integral part of the total social structure. Naturally recurrent methodological issues were considered such as atomistic vs. configurational approaches, value assumptions and stress upon overt as compared with covert behavior. While much mention is made of statistics, (especially demographic) and of studies in progress, sampling problems are not fully recognized nor is documentation notably precise by American standards.

All papers in the symposium bore the marks of high intelligence and scholarship and in general were organized with meticulous care. Especially interesting to the reviewer were the contributions of Schelsky and Willoughby analyzing respectively the German and English family systems. Schelsky developed the thesis that the shattering experiences of the German people shunted loyalty from the state to the intimate family group and energy from political activity to individual striving. Miss Willoughby presented an illuminating factual account of the influence of the British Welfare State on family life in a social structure marked by drastic equalization.

The discussion following each paper was, as edited, at a very high level. The participants

may have talked past each other, as men will do, but always at significant points and with great erudition. In spite of an orientation to research techniques which might seem at times a bit primitive to the American sociologist, many useful suggestions were made, as for example, concerning standard of living studies or the derivation of a family typology from daily records of behavior. General familiarity was shown with family law, historical trends and documentary sources, especially rich in countries long civilized. Occasionally, especially in the discussions, original hunches, intuitions and hypotheses were revealed. It was suggested that birth control methods diffuse from prostitutes to the bourgoise and recommended that a history of *ennui* be written.

This book has interest for American sociologists in general and is almost indispensable for specialists in the family area. They have cause for regret and reflection at not participating in a group experience of humble, inquiring and superbly courteous interaction between scholars from countries so recently at war.

CLIFFORD KIRKPATRICK
Indiana University

Religion in Crisis and Custom: A Sociological and Psychological Study. By ANTON T. BOISEN. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955. xv, 271 pp. $4.00.

Protestant—Catholic—Jew: An Essay in American Religious Sociology. By WILL HERBERG. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1955. 320 pp. $4.00.

A. T. Boisen is known to sociologists and social psychologists primarily for several papers and an earlier book (*The Exploration of the Inner World*) in which he has developed the thesis that personal crises, especially mental illness, and social crises strongly influence and are influenced by religious experience. He has had a varied career as minister, researcher, chaplain in a hospital for the mentally ill, and leader in the movement for clinical training for ministers. The present book reflects these many interests over a long career. Its copyright date is 1955, thought it might more appropriately read 1915–1945, for its material ranges over these years, with relatively little from the last decade. Indeed, it would appear that the book was projected, and copyrighted, for 1945, and is brought out now with what appear to the reader to be only minor revisions and additions.

These facts and inferences are necessary to the judgment of the usefulness of the book to sociologists. Much of the material of interest to sociologists is in the chapters that have

formerly been published as papers. These seem to the reviewer to be less valuable and impressive in the present context than when they first appeared. They are now surrounded by paragraphs filled with value assertions, unsupported propositions, and an unfortunate tendency to discuss and illustrate an hypothesis, rather than to test it, and then to write, "this chapter has shown that . . ." or "the general conclusion at which we have arrived is. . . ."

Perhaps the most valuable new chapter for the sociologist is one entitled "Creativity and Conservation in American Protestantism." Here the constant intermingling of valuation and analysis is less apparent than in many of the other chapters, and Boisen develops an interesting typology of churches on the basis of their historical origins: international, transplanted national churches, transplanted free churches, and indigenous churches, several with subdivisions. He then discusses typical differences in "attitude toward the present order," "representative class," "sources of religious authority," etc. It is unfortunate that this typology was not related to the functionalist approach, which tends to be implicit throughout the book. An explicit attempt to apply functionalism might have brought some of its unstated assumptions to the surface; and it would have made the descriptive material far more relevant to a "sociological and psychological study."

Herberg's book is a much more valuable document for the sociologist. He attempts to explain and interpret the paradox of "pervasive secularism amid mounting religiosity" in American society. He gathers together a great deal of data about membership and religious belief among Americans, and relates these data to several inter-connected propositions. Perhaps the most important are these: First, that so far as religion is concerned, the United States has been, and continues to be, a "triple melting pot," not a single one. The newcomer is expected to give up his language, nationality, and culture to a substantial degree, but not his religion. Herberg relates this to our tradition of religious freedom and to the "loneliness" theme: membership in one of the three major religious communities gives one an identity—he knows his "brand" name. He believes that a kind of third generation frame of mind has become important in America, citing Marcus Hansen's "what the son wishes to forget, the grandson wishes to remember." Riesman's thesis of growing "other-directedness" helps to explain the rapid growth in church membership, in Herberg's judgment, as do the crises of our time. This concept of a "triple melting pot"

is an important hypothesis. Only further research can tell us whether it describes a dominant or an unimportant trend, whether it will persist, and what all of its implications are both for society and for religion. In the reviewer's judgment, Herberg exaggerates the tendency toward separation of religious communities because he does not discuss this in relation to the many associations that cut across religious lines.

Second, despite the persistence and even intensification of the distinctiveness of the major religious communities, Catholicism and Judaism in the United States are being rapidly "Americanized." This is a basic hypothesis that has received much attention only in the last few years. Herberg helps to document it; but he has not put it closely enough into context with a discussion of the barriers to Americanization, for these too can be seen. Has the impact of American society on the different religions been in superficial characteristics or has it fundamentally restructured them? It could be argued that adaptation on the level of symbol and appearance is the best way to avoid adaptation on a more basic level. Herberg helps to bring this question to the explicit attention of sociologists of religion.

Third, differences and conflicts among religious creeds are small because of their common allegiance to "The American Way of Life," a secular belief that supports the basic correctness of American institutions, upholds the ideals of human dignity, community responsibility, sincerity, and the like, and proclaims the importance of religion—not of some particular religion, but of "faith in faith." From the point of view of sociology, particularly of functional theory, these observations raise some highly significant questions: Has "Americanism" become the fundamental religion of the country, with the traditional religions becoming devices for supporting and interpreting "the American way of life" to different groups? If so, does this fact spring from the need, in a highly diverse society, for a unifying system of beliefs and rituals that all can share (a proposition well described in a recent chapter by Lloyd Warner)? What are the implications of such a development for religions with a universalist view and for a society in constant interaction with other societies? Herberg explores such questions as these from the perspective of both sociology and theology, without, happily, trying to do both simultaneously.

This is a book deserving of very careful study. It is certain to be a stimulus to the development of the sociology of American religious life.

J. Milton Yinger

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Law and Morality: Leon Petrazycki. Translated by Hugh W. Babb. With an introduction by Nicholas S. Timasheff. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955. xlvi, 335 pp. $7.50.

This is the seventh volume of the 20th Century Legal Philosophy Series, published under the auspices of the Association of American Law Schools. Leon Petrazycki was an author and a professor of jurisprudence in Russia. Although several articles bearing on his contributions (including one by Roscoe Pound) have appeared in this country, the publication of the volume is the first English translation of his many works.

This translation is taken from the author's *Introduction to the Study of Law and Morality* (1907) and *Theory of Law and the State* (1910), deleting certain currently irrelevant materials. The volume is unquestionably a scholarly translation of Petrazycki's works, and Timasheff's *Introduction* provides an excellent analysis of his place in Continental jurisprudence and a summary of his major ideas.

Opposed to law as a category of norms, Petrazycki's theory places the reality of law in the mental images of individuals: law consists of mental constructs regarding the imperative and reciprocal rights and duties of persons. As such, law is a species of ethics; morals being the other category of ethics which are merely imperative. In modern terms, law is essentially conceptions of status.

In spite of the emphasis on individual conceptions, the theory becomes in fact a basis for a sociology of law. As with Talcott Parsons' unit for sociological investigation—the social act—in application and analysis both Petrazycki and Parsons find it necessary to talk about social norms.

The author's theory leads to radical redefinitions of the traditional classifications of law; to new approaches for the empirical study of the development of law and of its effect on social behavior; and to numerous generalizations in regard to these matters. While many aspects of his approach are not acceptable to current social science—for instance, the definition of law is too broad as a heuristic concept—and some of the generalizations have long since been discarded, there are in this work many insights and hypotheses worthy of testing. *Law and Morality* clearly points to basic problems with which the sociology of law must deal. The reviewer would class Leon Petrazycki with William G. Sumner among the great social scientists of their time.

Arthur Lewis Wood

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The Industrial Mobility of Labor as a Probability Process. By ISADORE BLUMEN, MARVIN KOGAN, AND PHILIP J. McCARTHY. Cornell Studies in Industrial and Labor Relations, Volume VI. Ithaca: Cornell University, 1955. xii, 163 pp. $3.00, paper; $4.00, cloth.

This volume will be of interest to at least three classes of sociologists: (1) those using probability methods in their own research; (2) those who have heard the arguments for mathematics in social science and who would like a demonstration; and (3) those interested in the social aspects of industrial mobility. Understandably, the findings are not organized to shed light on sociological questions, since the authors —statisticians by background—were primarily concerned with the problem of whether a chain of social events could be represented by a fairly simple mathematical sequence. In particular, they were interested in the degree of correspondence between a time series which registers the percentage of workers who either stay or return to a given industry after a certain lapse of time and a Markov chain of values.

As implementation, six separate times series were prepared, each covering the period of 1947–1949, and each describing the industrial mobility of a particular age and sex group. These sequences were then compared with a set of mathematically expected values. Agreement was not altogether satisfactory and the model was consequently changed in an effort to bring theoretical and observed values into line. Application of the adjusted model led to greater similarity; however, certain systematic discrepancies remained. No further attempt was made to rectify the model—undoubtedly because of the prodigious labor involved—although the authors intimate that this process should continue until an acceptable fit is reached and suggest in the final chapter how the transition probabilities might be reconstituted in order to achieve this end.

It is of interest that this study was not guided by a causal hypothesis, the procedure usually recommended by books on how to do social research. The basic assumption was simply that industrial mobility is a random process. Although this approach may connote to some a lack of concern with causal knowledge, a superficial reading will demonstrate that this is not the case. The researchers were continuously seeking to identify and to evaluate those factors which produced a breakdown in the simple model. For example, a great deal of attention was accorded throughout to individual and group differences in propensity to move. The moral seems to be that a casual hypothesis is not

an absolute necessity, and that it will occasionally, perhaps frequently, be profitable to begin with a notion which is indifferent to causal factors but which has the capacity to extricate them through repeated adjustment and use.

It is impossible of course in a short review to list the many items in this work which have a bearing on social inquiry, and it is altogether impossible to assess its long run significance. However, it seems almost conservative to say that it is bound to enjoy an extended tenure as a model—in the normative sense—for those future studies which approach social sequences as a probability process. In any event, a careful reading will be rewarding to all who are interested in the frontiers of social science. The writing is intelligible and readable. Evidently, the authors went to some pains to render an account for the average reader, although an almost exclusively mathematical statement would perhaps have been much easier to formulate.

KARL SCHUESSLER

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Money and Motivation: An Analysis of Incentives in Industry. By WILLIAM FOOTE WHYTE, MELVILLE DALTON, DONALD ROY, LEONARD SAYLES, ORVIS COLLINS, FRANK MILLER, GEORGE STRAUSS, FRIEDRICH FUERSTENBERG AND ALEX BAVELAS. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955. xii, 268 pp. $4.00.

Most of the significant studies dealing with the sociology of incentive systems have been placed neatly into focus in this engaging cooperative effort. Although probably intended for a wider audience Whyte and his collaborators do not write down to those sophisticated in the area of human relations in industry. While most sociologists may recognize that the individual contributions have appeared elsewhere, this book is not merely a collection of articles. It organizes in relatively few pages most of the important studies evaluating incentive schemes in industry. Even though incentive plans have traditionally appealed to managers, this book will appeal to those with divergent interests because it considers the relevance of the *total* industrial organization for understanding incentive problems. As a matter of fact, the authors present a precise and incisive criticism of traditional theories of rate fixing, rate changes, work measurement, and standard data. Unlike many sociologists they also recognize the economic limitations of devices to stimulate greater productivity.

The book itself is organized into three areas: how the worker and his group control incentive and productivity schemes, the consequences of

incentive plans for intergroup relations, and the experiences with modal productivity schemes that take into account the plant-wide social system.

The following ideas are presented in logical order in Part I of the book: how workers are indoctrinated to control productivity, the social organization of rate control bargaining, the social psychological gains and losses of piecework systems, and the social identities of those who have different orientations toward incentive systems.

In Part II the authors demonstrate how the presence of an incentive system in a single department had consequences for intergroup relations (departmental labor-management, managerial levels). This is followed by a case study which documents in detail (a) how the introduction of a rate system destroyed the informal organization of the department and (b) the complex and many-faceted *meanings* of gain to workers. Part III, by way of contrast, illuminates the use of knowledge concerning social organization for incentive schemes. The four cases cited demonstrate the problems in plant-wide incentive schemes, the necessity for *continuous* cooperative goals by all groups concerned, and the need for building *involvement* into organizational relations.

The analysis of successful and unsuccessful incentive systems is considered in the context of Homan's conceptual scheme of symbols, sentiments, activities, and interaction. As with Whyte's previous works, interaction is considered the independent variable in the sense that changes in it bring about changes in other areas. Whether this is a theoretical premise or an established finding has not been satisfactorily established. Since Whyte's motivational position is built on conditioning theory it is understandable that overt action should occupy such a preeminent place in his work. Congruent as the interactional and conditioning schemes appear to be, they do not consider the basic position of symbols and meanings for sociological social psychology. However the general success of this book appears to demonstrate that an adequate understanding of the functioning of social systems can be made without an elaborate motivational theory. It may well be that sociologists should ignore the motivational problem in their analysis until they can build a motivational position which is more congruent with organizational theory.

WILLIAM H. FORM
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Consumer Behavior. Volume II: *The Life Cycle and Consumer Behavior*. Edited by LINCOLN H. CLARK. Sponsored by Consumer Behavior, Incorporated. New York: New York University Press, 1955. viii, 125 pp. $5.00.

The Committee for Research on Consumer Attitudes and Behavior, an organization of social scientists and commercial research people interested in market research, published its first volume, *Consumer Behavior: The Dynamics of Consumer Reaction*, in 1954. *The Life Cycle and Consumer Behavior* is the second production of the Committee which has now adopted the legal name of Consumer Behavior, Incorporated.

Like its predecessor, Volume II is an experiment in the integration of an "interdisciplinary" approach to the broad problem of consumer behavior; a problem conceived as involving human motivation in many social contexts and thus cutting across the academic specialties. It is not a serious criticism now to say that neither volume has yet achieved the planned integration. Volume I, the first published result of the Committee conferences, was actually a symposium of papers by sociologists, social psychologists, economists, linked together around highly selected problems of consumer behavior. Without exception the papers were stimulating and suggestive; some of them represented new applications or tests for research design; some reported research of special academic importance.

Volume II is better integrated topically, though still primarily a symposium of contributions from special fields of interest rather than an enterprise of methodological unity. Six of the nine articles are concerned with comparative sociology, economics, and social psychology of the human life cycle as these bear on consumption behavior. Three studies by George Katona, Robert Ferber, and William Whyte are reprinted in the volume because, while they lack any particular focus on the topic of the volume they are considered by the Committee to be important contributions to the scientific study of consumer behavior.

The Life Cycle and Consumer Behavior is essentially a series of articles ranging from suggestive, and at times frankly speculative analysis of the problems of studying consumer behavior to the reports of specific research in consumer expenditures and income over selected segments of the human life cycle. David Riesman and Howard Roseborough, in "Careers and Consumer Behavior," get the book off to a good start with a richly-dimensioned analysis of changing urban career and age patterns and

associated consumption effects. This article, matched by apt discussions from Gregory Stone and Francis X. Sutton, is up to the standard set elsewhere by Riesman and his associates for illuminating and zestful exploratory sociology.

The articles following deal with: some of the methodological problems and data of income and expenditure analysis through the family life cycle (Janet Fisher); income and type of expenditure changes over the life cycle of spending units (John B. Lansing and James N. Morgan); shifts in buying patterns at successive family life cycle stages (S. G. Barton); and variations in impact of advertising with different age groups (Donald Miller).

In the three final studies not topically concerned with consumer life cycle, George Katona discusses the predictive value of consumer attitudes toward expenditures; Robert Ferber some of the measurable factors influencing durable goods purchases. The final article, by William H. Whyte, Jr., is a reprint from the *Fortune* study of the influence of primary group or neighborhood "word of mouth" structure on family purchases, using window air conditioners as a model problem.

Nearly every article in the volume is readable and competently done. Those by Riesman and Roseborough, by Fisher, by Lansing and Morgan, and by Katona are of considerable importance for scientific research perspectives and possible design. The book is still far from the announced interdisciplinary goal of the Committee, but judged independently, it is to be recommended for those sociologists and psychologists who would like to see more research in the still thin literature in systematic life cycle analysis, and who are looking for indications for their own research hypotheses. This is enough to expect from one small volume.

IVAN BELKNAP

The University of Texas

Research on Labor Mobility: An Appraisal of Research Findings in the United States. Bulletin 65. By HERBERT S. PARNES. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1954. xi, 205 pp. $1.75.

Occupational Mobility in the United States: 1930–1960. By A. J. JAFFE AND R. O. CARLETON. With a Preface by SEYMOUR L. WOLFBEIN. New York: King's Crown Press, Columbia University, 1954. xiv, 105 pp. $2.75.

The report by Parnes represents a stocktaking of past research on labor mobility—an attempt to fit the findings of many individual studies into a single framework. It is an intensive summary and appraisal of the various studies concerning occupational, industrial, and geographical mobility of labor in the United States in relation to the flexibility of the labor supply.

In a chapter on conceptual and methodological problems relating to mobility, various definitions of mobility are considered and the different types of mobility are discussed. Parnes points out that it is easier to define and classify types of labor mobility conceptually than to give operational meaning to the various terms and to decide how specific job changes are to be classified. Data regarding changes in occupation are meaningless in the absence of a definition of occupation and a suggested occupational classification system. The same is true of the concept of industrial mobility. Similarly, what is meant by geographic mobility depends upon what one conceives a local labor market area to be.

One of the most interesting aspects of this excellent book is the analysis of the extent to which labor mobility fits prevailing economic theory regarding such movement. For optimum efficiency, the movement of workers into and out of the labor force and among various occupations, firms, and geographic regions must take place so as to assure the distribution of workers in accordance with the relative need for them. Economic theory identified the factors that measure the relative "need" for labor with those that determine workers' job choices and induce them to move from one job to another. In a free market, differentials in the wages and other economic perquisites of similar jobs reflect differences in the demand for labor. And it is precisely these differentials that produce movement of workers from job to job. Such movement continues, moreover, until the differentials are eliminated. In this conception mobility plays a dual role, providing individual as well as social benefits. Not only does it operate to assure society of the "proper" allocation of the labor force, but it also provides the individual with the maximum opportunities for self-improvement.

As Parnes points out, this is an oversimplification of the theory of labor allocation. Nevertheless, a number of empirical studies of labor market processes, and of labor mobility in particular, have had as either a primary or an incidental objective the testing of some of the premises of traditional allocation theory. Among the problems that have had the attention of investigators in this field is the validity of the assumption that workers make rational job choices and decisions in terms of the economic advantages (principally wages) of

alternative jobs, and that the resultant movement of workers in the direction of higher paying jobs tends to reduce or eliminate differentials in the terms of employment.

Most authorities have concluded that the amount of job turnover is very large, although its extent is not known precisely. But in spite of the large amount of job turnover, most workers have only a very limited knowledge of job opportunities in the labor market, and even less information regarding the specific characteristics of jobs in establishments other than his own. There appears to be some tendency for workers to move in the direction of higher paying jobs, but manual workers increase their earnings as a result of their *voluntary movement* only slightly more often than they do not. It is also clear that the persistence of significant wage differentials, even within a single local labor market area, is the rule rather than the exception; and that these differentials, far from being offset, are often reinforced by differentials in the non-wage attractiveness of jobs.

With respect to the labor market behavior of workers, it can safely be asserted that at any given time the vast majority of employment workers are not "in the labor market" in the sense of being interested in or available for other employment. It is likewise clear that even when unemployed workers are looking for jobs they do not generally compare alternatives in an attempt to choose the best job available. They are more likely to take the first job that meets the minimum standards they have established subjectively. Their procedures in seeking jobs, however realistic they may be from a pragmatic point of view, seem casual when contrasted with the degree of "rationality" assumed by economic theory.

The author points out many gaps in information about labor mobility and suggests additional work that needs to be done. For example, he suggests that parallel studies in diverse labor market areas, among specific occupational groups, and under varying economic conditions are needed to test the universality of some of the conclusions that have been reached in research on mobility. More attention should be given particularly to various groups of non-manual workers, to agricultural workers, and to workers in areas of diverse economic structure. Also periodic surveys in a single labor market would throw light on the effect of changing economic conditions on labor mobility.

The book by Jaffe and Carleton is complementary to the Parnes' book in that it calls attention to some of the gaps in data pertaining to labor mobility. The initial aim of this work was the construction of models and procedures for estimating possible future manpower supply by occupation in the United States. The study is restricted to the civilian male labor force, classified by ten major occupational groups.

The models developed make use of five components altogether; (1) age; (2) deaths; (3) new entries into the labor force; (4) retirements from the labor force; and (5) occupational net mobility. Working with the major group occupational distribution of the male working force by five-year age groups, as of 1930, 1940 and 1950, intercensal patterns of occupational change for each five-year age cohort were then further sub-divided into changes occurring either through deaths, new entries, retirements or net mobility. In this manner not only could changes be observed in the occupational distribution of an age cohort from one decade to the next, but the particular mode of change could be attributed to one of four possible components. On the basis of this analysis, each age cohort was projected to 1960 by separately projecting each of the four components of change; then each major occupation group was projected by summing the age cohort projections.

Two basic sets of projections are presented, one being based on the assumption that labor market conditions in the 1950's will be similar to those of the 1930's. The other set of projections is based on the assumption that labor market conditions in the 1950's will be similar to those of the 1940's. Two assumptions are made regarding the number of men in the armed forces in 1960. One assumes a military level as of 1950 and the other assumes a smaller number of men in the armed forces. Thus, there are four projections in all. The methodology is interesting, particularly in those areas where the lack of data call for a substitute approach, and in these cases the authors have demonstrated imagination and ingenuity.

The primary purpose of these models was to devise a framework which would permit uncovering: (1) the net occupational mobility which actually occurred during these twenty years; (2) the occupational distribution of new entrants into the labor force during the 1930's and during the 1940's; and (3) the occupational distribution of retirements from the labor force in each of these decades. The actual models were so constructed that they could be applied to any number of occupations and any type of occupational classification scheme which might be available or desired.

In addition to the models there is an interesting chapter on patterns of working life. The authors indicate that most men move about from one job to another during the course of their working lives so that they end in occupations often very different from those in which they began. In this process they succeed in climbing the occupational ladder so that very many reach jobs considerably above those in which they began their working careers. The majority of men improve both their economic and status positions. This upward mobility is influenced by several factors:

1. The normal upward movement from "apprentice to craftsman."
2. The availability of jobs; if the labor demand schedule changes so that there is a great increase in the demand for workers in the better jobs, upward mobility results.
3. The phase of the business cycle; during periods of economic prosperity upward mobility is enhanced, and during periods of economic depression, retarded.

It is clear that there has been a long-time increased demand for workers in the higher occupations. In the last several decades many men have moved up the occupational ladder if for no other reason than that the economy needed more workers in these jobs.

The authors conclude that there is considerable upward mobility at the present time although this optimistic, and perhaps obvious, conclusion is tempered by the statement that "those boys who begin working in the better jobs are very likely to end their working careers in the better jobs." Further research is needed in order to completely resolve the conclusion by Jaffe and Carleton that there is considerable upward mobility at the present time with Parnes' conclusion that manual workers increase their earnings as a result of voluntary movement only slightly—or perhaps it is only that the definition of what is "mobility" conceals many of the changes that occur.

W. PARKER MAULDIN
Bureau of the Census

Adaptive Human Fertility. By PAUL S. HENSHAW. New York: The Blakiston Division. McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1955. xiii, 322 pp. $5.00.

Current Research in Human Fertility. Papers presented at the 1954 Annual Conference of the Milbank Memorial Fund. New York: Milbank Memorial Fund, 1955. 162 pp. $1.00, paper.

The main purpose of Henshaw's book is to show why fertility control is needed and how this control can be achieved. Fertility control is needed because the rapid growth of the population of the world and of certain countries is a threat to the balance between population and resources. While Henshaw is aware of the problems involved in establishing the existence of this threat, he cannot escape the pessimism of some of his fellow biologists. He tries to document the fact of the increasing depletion of world resources at a time when the need for these resources is mounting. He agrees that, while new inventions will provide the opportunity to exploit new resources, the costs of exploiting these new resources will be continually increasing. The little evidence that is presented to support this point is not convincing. Actually, the answer to the whole problem of the timing and the social and economic feasibility of new technological developments can only come as a result of interdisciplinary research involving both social and natural scientists.

In the last analysis, perhaps, the most eloquent argument for fertility control is worded as follows by Henshaw: "Fertility management offers the prospect that every child will be a wanted child . . . (and) under such circumstances the basic setting for the free way of life is offered" (p. 122). Henshaw makes a plea for teleogenesis or fertility management partly on the ground that "teleogensis represents an extension and an expansion of the societal evolutionary forces" (p. 260). If Lester Ward were alive today this is what he would have said!

The three most fascinating and best documented chapters are those on "primitive," "more recent," and "prospective" fertility control practices. In one chapter Henshaw presents a clear and short description of the reproductive process and of the menstrual cycle as a background for a discussion of physiological methods of fertility control.

The weakest parts of the book are those in which Henshaw discusses the social and psychological factors that will facilitate or impede the adoption of fertility control and management. A more scientific analysis of this problem is, in part, provided by the volume on "Current Research in Human Fertility." Papers presented at the 1954 annual conference of the Milbank Memorial Fund have been brought together in this volume.

The first three papers on Mysore State, India by C. Chandrasekaran, on Jamaica by Judith Blake, and on Puerto Rico by Reuben Hill, Kurt Back, and J. Mayone Stycos represent a pioneering attempt to investigate various factors underlying attitudes toward parenthood and birth control in underdeveloped areas. Variables such as empathy and communication are included in

the Mysore study and made the basis of an elaborate scheme of analysis in the Puerto Rican study. While the results of these studies are extremely interesting, one cannot help wondering about their applicability to a program of fertility control and management in under-developed countries. Perhaps, in addition to basic studies of reproductive behavior, we also need experimental studies to test the relative effectiveness of various programs and social policies in changing reproductive behavior in high fertility areas.

Aside from the paper by N. B. Ryder on Sweden, all the other papers in the symposium deal with various aspects of fertility in the United States. Ryder has made an original contribution to demographic analysis by extending the use of generation life table methods to an analysis of the mortality, nuptiality, fertility, and reproductive experience of Swedish birth cohorts from 1751 to date. He is able to trace the effect of declining mortality on the number of years spent in married life between the ages of 15 and 50 and on the reproductivity of successive cohorts.

Wilson H. Grabill describes a forthcoming fertility monograph based on an analysis of census data and sponsored by the Social Science Research Council. On the basis of a judicious analysis of all available data, Dudley Kirk derives death rates, birth rates, and fertility rates for Catholics in the United States from 1910 and especially 1930 to 1953.

P. K. Whelpton gives a short description of the design of a nation-wide survey of the reproductive behavior and fertility expectations of a sample of American women.

The last part of the symposium is devoted to a discussion of the design and conceptualization for a new study of the social and psychological factors in fertility. The design and objectives of the study are delineated by Clyde V. Kiser. Elliot G. Mishler and Charles Westoff present a conceptual scheme that would help in selecting and testing a set of interrelated hypotheses. While their analysis is, on the whole, very challenging, the logical arrangement of their hypotheses is not always obvious or convincing. Furthermore, the meaning of many of the terms used has to be more rigorously specified. Philip Hauser is given the difficult task of evaluating the design of this new study, and he does it with his usual verve and good sense. Sociologists and demographers will await with great interest the results of both the study described by Whelpton and the one described by Kiser.

GEORGES SABAGH
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Introduction to Demography. By MORTIMER SPIEGELMAN. Chicago: The Society of Actuaries, 1955. xxi, 309 pp. $6.00.

Demography is in fashion. Almost every economic and political researcher feels bound to include some demographic data and observations pertaining to the subject matter of his study. And yet, "Introduction to Demography" is the first textbook in the field. (A. J. Jaffe's excellent *Handbook of Statistical Methods for Demographers* is a reader, a collection of articles with a few pages of connecting text). Mr. Spiegelman and the Society of Actuaries have filled a long felt gap. *Introduction to Demography* initates the student in the specific methods of statistical analysis developed in that field. It should be noticed that the title of the book is broader than its contents. Having in mind primarily the professional interests of the actuary, the book intends to cover and actually covers only the technical aspect which does not exhaust by any means the manifold contents and wide scope of the science of population. Except for demographic techniques, no problems which preoccupy demographers are discussed in the reviewed book. The name of Malthus and his theory are mentioned only incidentally, in connection with mathematical methods of population projections. Nor is there even mention of such basic topics of demography as the demographic transition or population policy.

However, we should not ask for what the book is not intended to give. As an introduction of the technical work to be performed by a demographer, it is excellent. Whatever may be the task—collection and tabulation of demographic data, construction and use of life tables, making projections of population, etc., etc.—Spiegelman's book will be helpful and a reliable guide. Copious references serve those who wish to locate source material or to pursue any subject further.

EUGENE M. KULISCHER
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A Primer of Social Statistics. By SANFORD M. DORNBUSCH AND CALVIN F. SCHMID. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1955. ix, 251 pp. $4.75.

This text is designed to be used in an introductory (presumably undergraduate) course in statistics in which the students have little or no mathematical preparation and little or no motivation to learn statistics. The primary objective of the text is to make the student "statistically literate" rather than competent "in undertaking his own research."

The text discusses in order tabular and graphic

presentation, measures of central tendency and variability, sampling distributions (focusing on the mean and proportion), linear regression and correlation, and, finally, contingency table analysis through Chi Square and selected measures of association. Each chapter contains its main points, graphic and verbal illustrations, a vocabulary list, a summary of important concepts introduced, and, where appropriate, a series of problems for the student.

In evaluating this book it is important to keep in mind the purpose for which it was written, for the book as a whole is not likely to satisfy the statistician but may well satisfy the student for whom it was designed. From the statistician's point of view the most obvious deficiency in the book is the absence of any appreciable discussion of simple analysis of variance. Further, the authors often make minor errors or fail to use currently accepted symbols. Thus, s^2 is used by the authors to symbolize $\frac{\Sigma x^2}{n}$ rather than $\frac{\Sigma x^2}{n-1}$; the frequency polygon is left "hanging in the air" in that it is not drawn to the base line (see page 25); the "true" upper limit of a continuous interval is considered to be, for example, 44.99 rather than 45.0; in Fig. 2–3 graph F is not correctly drawn; and Fig. 14–1 (C) implies that a sample per cent may be less than zero or more than one hundred.

However, from the student's point of view (and the instructor's) the book appears to have several advantages. The lay-out is designed to attract attention, and does. The many graphs and charts should help to hold the student's interest. The writing style is straightforward and direct and most of the explanations (though somewhat elliptic) should be meaningful to the mathematically unprepared student. The authors use many "personalized" illustrations such as "Alfred Strongheart considers himself very intelligent, and he challenges Alibi Ike to a contest. . . ." These may well appeal to the sophomore.

In general, if the instructor can manage to be enthusiastic about the book he should have little difficulty communicating his enthusiasm to the students. Initially unprepared and unmotivated students may well learn a fair amount about statistics through the use of the text. Mature students, seriously interested in learning statistics, might find the book inadequate, but the book was not written for them anyway.

THEODORE R. ANDERSON

Yale University

A Minority in Britain: Social Studies of the Anglo-Jewish Community. By JAMES PARKES, HANNAH NEUSTATTER, HOWARD M. BROTZ, AND MAURICE FREEDMAN. Edited by MAURICE FREEDMAN. London: Vallentine, Mitchell and Co., Ltd., 1955. xvi, 279 pp. 21/–.

Presented as a preface to "the sociology of Anglo-Jewry," this little volume has four major themes, each the subject of an essay: (1) the social history of the Anglo-Jewish community as a background to the understanding of modern conditions, contributed by historian James Parkes; (2) a compilation and analysis of demographic and other quantitative material as a factual foundation, by social statistician Hannah Neustatter; (3) an analysis of the internal structure of the Jewish community in Britain, especially in London, by sociologist Howard M. Brotz; and (4) a discussion of problems of the relationship between Jews and non-Jews, by social anthropologist Maurice Freedman. These four general topics or parts have been pretty well integrated, either through collaboration or editing or both.

The general purpose of the study is to examine the position of the Jewish community in Great Britain, the changes it is undergoing, and its probable future. Jews in Great Britain number approximately 450,000 or slightly less than 1 per cent of the total population. They include various local communities, both Sephardi and Ashkenazi, and range from strict orthodoxy to reform and progressive Judaism; they comprise old families and recent immigrants, different social classes, and different ethnic backgrounds. Yet they are primarily an urban, middle class, highly educated, self-employed group with a remarkable degree of cohesion. This cohesion is not due to the hostility of the external environment but has been built upon a distinctive religion, a concern for world Jewish problems, and a desire to perpetuate their peculiar culture heritage. The Jews have sought to establish, in Great Britain as elsewhere, a somewhat close-knit communal and social organization, for only so can the Jewish way of life be preserved in a Gentile environment. The basic institutions to this end are the synagogue, cemetery, governing body (the Board of Deputies), communal taxes, and school, though there is also a host of subsidiary institutions. Along with this goes the theme of corporate responsibility, the doctrine that all Jews are answerable to one another, that the life of the Jew is inextricably bound up with that of his fellow-Jews as their life is bound up with his.

This self-enclosure in its developed form is the closed minority society, the classical ghetto, intensified by the hostility of the non-Jewish

world. But the Jewish community in Great Britain is more of the open community type, with loss of cultural self-sufficiency and assimilation of standards of the host society. Its future, this study concludes, is threatened by a declining birth rate, intermarriage, weakening of the religious tradition, secularization of institutions, and increasing acculturation. The Jews may become just a religious group, like the Protestants and Catholics, or more likely, thinks Freedman, an ethnic or cultural group, since many feel compelled to maintain at least a minimal identity with Jewry and since, as Neustatter points out, assimilation has not been so complete as to remove from the Jewish community its distinctive characteristics in family organization, in emphasis on education, and in occupational structure. Zionism may also be a factor in the survival of the minority as such, for from identification with the Jewish State is derived a great deal of self-respect and sense of security.

MAURICE R. DAVIE

Yale University

Learning Across Cultures: A Study of Germans Visiting America. By JEANNE WATSON AND RONALD LIPPITT. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, Research Center for Group Dynamics, Institute for Social Research, 1955. x, 205 pp. $3.00.

This slim volume is an excellent example of how a study motivated principally by a particular administrative problem can profit from and contribute to concepts and theory in social science.

The study in question reports an investigation of three groups of German student subjects ($N = 27$) visiting this country on exchange programs. The aim is to evaluate the effectiveness of the program and at the same time to utilize it as a case study of the process of cross-cultural learning.

Research design for such a task requires a delicate balance. For the policy makers who ask "Is our program effective or ineffective?" an evaluation study is needed to determine the extent to which different aspects of the program fulfill their intended goals. For scientists who ask "How are these generalizations relevant to human motivation and behavior?" research design demands imaginative selection of effect variables which are also relevant indicators of broader sociological and psychological constructs. For practitioners who ask: "But what do the people actually *say?*" design must permit the kind of reporting which maintains the essential content and flavor of the data elicited from the subjects. The writers have competently met all

three of these essentially different kinds of demands.

The study aims to discern change; and the writers have made careful efforts to collect the data in an appropriate manner. Their method is actually the panel method, each respondent having participated in three detailed interviews, one upon arrival, a second upon departure, and a third six months after return to Germany. There is one exception: for one of the three groups studied, the initial interview was omitted. Sentence completion tests were likewise applied to the same respondent at different points in time—at the beginning and at the end of their stay in America. In some subjects, protocols of successive group meetings were drawn upon. These techniques have made possible discernment of change where it occurred, as well as analysis of the dynamics of such change for any given subject.

One problem in a study of this type is that there exists no standard by which the direction of perceived change may be measured. The research design provided for such a baseline measure. The writers secured from two control groups of matched American students, measurements on the same variables studied for the German subjects. In this way it is possible to establish that observed changes in the German group moved towards an American norm, or away from it. These comparisons, incidentally, contain some provocative suggestions for national character differences, which might well be followed up by research on more appropriately selected samples.

The writers interpret the findings of this study in terms of their relevance to learning theory; The effect of personality upon learning ("learning does not occur when the attitudes to be learned would contradict deep-lying personality orientations"); the effect of cultural stereotypes on learning ("Learning does not occur in the face of defensive stereotypes"); and the effect of empathy on learning ("Learning does not occur at points where two cultures differ widely in values or conceptual frame of reference. . . [it] will take place when new information can be assimilated to a pre-existing frame of reference . . . [it] will take place at points where people of two cultures seem to be approaching the same problem from different points of view.") At least the latter three principles may be relevant, as well, to information theory.

A methodologist may be tempted to criticize certain aspects of the design and techniques of data gathering (dismissal of questionnaires, the problem of concept- versus item-equivalence, the small N which makes subgroup analysis

virtually impossible); a researcher in the field of cross-cultural education may be tempted to argue about certain of the analytic conclusions (perhaps insufficient attention to the overwhelmingly favorable effect of foreign study; to the role of interpersonal associations and interaction). But the study, in its entirety, is so ably conceived and executed that its positive contributions to both fields far outweigh any such critical considerations.

A minor matter, but worth mentioning: although the book is photo-offset, it is aesthetically pleasing and clear to read.

ROSE K. GOLDSEN
Cornell University

Sociocultural and Psychological Processes in Menomini Acculturation. University of California Publications in Culture and Society, Volume 5. By GEORGE D. SPINDLER. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1955. viii, 272 pp. $3.50.

This is one of the most carefully designed and executed studies to appear to date in that fascinating but confusing field referred to as "culture and personality." As such, it is must reading for any serious student in this field. It will also be a rewarding experience for anyone interested in considering some of the more challenging methodological problems faced by behavioral scientists.

This study "endeavors to discover what relationships exist between personality structure and position on a continuum of acculturation" (p. 4). Five acculturation categories of Menomini Indians are studied: (1) native-oriented, (2) Peyote Cult members, (3) transitionals, (4) lower status acculturated, and (5) elite acculturated. Categories 1, 2, and 5 are actual groups, but the other two categories are more loosely defined. Each category is represented by from 10 to 17 members, the total sample being 68. A white "control group" of 12 is also studied. For each subject sociocultural information (24 indices) is collected along with standard Rorschach data.

The data reveal: (1) A number of the sociocultural indices differentiate among various pairs of the acculturation categories, and almost all of them differentiate between categories 1 and 2 combined and 3, 4 and 5 combined. (2) The categories show significant differences from each other on a number of the standard Rorschach indices (Klopfer's system). (3) If the standard interpretations of these Rorschach indices are accepted, the following pattern evolves: There is a "progressive shift from something that may be called quiescent stoicism, represented by the native-oriented personality configuration,

through the disturbed emotionality and regressive breakdown of control functions characteristic of the Peyotists and [to a lesser degree] the transitionals, to the controlled and channelized emotional responsiveness characteristic of the elites" (pp. 197–98).

Inevitably, a study which attempts to combine methods and viewpoints from two disciplines will not wholly satisfy the purists in either camp. Many psychologists and psychiatrists will complain that Spindler has mis-used the Rorschach (e.g., 15 of his 21 indices come from the "determinants" scoring category; he has based his analysis wholly on interpretations of the apperceptive approach and not on imaginative-symbolic content; he has not emphasized configurational interpretation and total case analysis as a clinician would do).

On the other hand, many sociologists and anthropologists will criticize some of his logic and methods (e.g., he claims to have validated the posited continuum of Menomini acculturation categories whereas the only conclusive statistical evidence shows that categories 1 and 2 *together* are different from categories 3, 4 and 5 *together* (a dichotomy, not a continuum), and the number of significant differences between pairs of individual categories is much less impressive (less than one-half of the total pairs); justification for labelling the white sample a "control group" is weak, and this group is not systematically made a part of the research design or the interpretation).

Whatever the validity of these criticisms, it is still true that: (1) Spindler has succeeded in defining five sociocultural categories which show significant psychological variations according to a careful use of one of the most respected personality tests we have. (2) The findings fit very well into the existing body of knowledge in this field of research. (3) The methods used and the interpretations made are explained in sufficient detail for others to evaluate the work done and to attempt to make improvements in future efforts. This last fact alone puts this research in a very select group of "culture and personality" studies.

ALAN C. KERCKHOFF
Air Force Personnel and Training
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Culture and Experience. By A. IRVING HALLOWELL. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1955. xvi, 434 pp. $7.00.

This volume is a garnering of the selected works of a respected elder statesman in anthropology, and as such is of interest and importance to all social scientists. Dr. Hallowell began

his professional career with the close personal and practical concerns of a social worker for some eight years in Philadelphia; he followed this with a productive third of a century in professional anthropology; and as one measure of his distinction served as Chairman of the Division of Anthropology and Psychology in the National Research Council for three years. His long preoccupation with the Saulteaux Indians is of an order seldom matched in modern field work, and has resulted (with the addition of the work of students he has supervised) in a rounded body of data on one group unparalleled since Malinowski's Trobrianders or until Kluckhohn's Navaho.

Since this *Festschrift* was intelligently conceived by the Philadelphia Anthropological Society as a collection of Hallowell's own writings, it is at once apparent that the best service of a reviewer to his readers would be to attempt a careful and concise summarizing of the varied contents of these essays and thus direct readers to the subjects of their immediate interest. One may safely trust that the sobriety and patient good sense of all Hallowell's writing will sufficiently explain the respect in which he is held within his own field.

Chapter I recognizes the importance to social scientists of the Freudian concepts of ego and superego as bridges between environment and organism; one wishes only that there had been more discussion of the id to which they are bridges. Chapter 2 rejects the Freud-[Jung]-Ferenczi-Bonaparte "recapitulation hypothesis" which assumes that cultural stages are similar to the stages of ontogenetic development; probably a majority of anthropologists will join him in his reasons, viz., because man's evolutionary adaptations (symbols, culture, society, the family) replace biological evolution with cultural, the recapitaulation theory is inapplicable to the postnatal socialization of the child. Chapter 3: systematic Rorschach differences between groups are cultural, not "racial;" prior acquaintance with pictures is not critical, since a universal feature of human beings (projection) is being tapped by an unstructured stimulus.

A variety of later chapters may be rapidly, though often inadequately, listed: (4) the self as a culturally-colored concept viewed as from within the bearers of various cultures; (5) a concise sketch of the Berens River Saulteaux ethnographically; (6) a palaeopsychological reconstruction of Eastern Woodlands personality (stoic endurance, inhibition of anger, regard for the face of others, ego-independence, inability to refuse a request, surface amiability, unwillingness to contradict, high anxiety and projection of hostility); (7) Saulteaux eschatology, beliefs

about visits to and a life-after-death in a world to the south; (8) Ojibwa soul-beliefs, told in the form of an autobiography, with ethnographic commentary; (9)–(11) discussions of the Saulteaux' concrete rather than abstract space-orientation, attitudes and concepts of measurement of distances and areas, and differing orientation to time-concepts, respectively; (12) property as a social institution, sanctioned by Saulteaux notions of disease and witchcraft as punishment upon offenders; (13) cultural fears and individual anxieties as characteristics within various societies; (14) institutionalized fomenters and allayers of anxiety among the Saulteaux, sickness as a sanction used to maintain social order, and public confession of sins as an escape from anxiety; (15) the expression of Saulteaux aggression, seldom overtly but often in gossip, witchcraft and the like; (16) sexual behavior and attitudes toward it among the Saulteaux; (17) an excellent discussion of varied aspects of acculturation; (18) acculturative differences between the extraverted Lakeside and introverted Inland Saulteaux, and the more successful acculturation psychologically of women than of men; (19) the Rorschach differences between variously-acculturated Saulteaux; and (20) the disintegration of the old value systems and their non-replacement as yet by new ones among the various Chippewa groups, and the relationship of this to mental health under acculturational influences.

A wide spectrum of interests! It remains only to be noted that Hallowell has been an informed and influential introducer of ideas from dynamic psychiatry into anthropology for some decades, if not the very first to use the Rorschach in anthropological field work, then certainly the most influential longtime user and present defender of the technique.

WESTON LA BARRE

Duke University

The People of the Sierra. By J. A. PITT-RIVERS. Introduction by E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD. New York: Criterion Books, 1954. xvi, 232 pp. $4.00.

How does a little Spanish town of Andalusia integrate, if at all, with the national system of social structure and political controls? That is one of the principal questions to which this book is addressed. The answers are given in a wealth of well described detail and sharp analysis. Alcalá de la Sierra is a self-contained sociocultural system whose traditions are very old and not at all the same as the patterns desired by the "modern" authoritarian state of which it forms a part. As described here the people are not ideological rebels in "political" opposition

to the state. But they are Alcaleños first and foremost who, by chance, happen to live in a nation called Spain that is bureaucratically governed from a place called Madrid. This creates tensions which are resolved, not by revolution and violence, but by various forms of evasion of the national regulations, evasions and compromises that are in effect and perforce connived at by the national officials who are assigned to the community. The situation is an excellent description in intimate, functional terms of what Howard Odum would have called the adjustment of the stateways to the folkways. And in Spain at least, where there has been comparatively little spread of urban values and technologies to the countryside, the village world within the modern national state is a major "problem" and a fascinating anomaly.

Pitt-Rivers' book is not concerned with political issues *per se* but undertakes to analyse a situation with which any political party or form of government would have to deal.

The social structure and social controls within the community are brought to light through an analysis of values and the patterns of behavior deriving from them. For readers with familiarity in the modern Latin American rural cultures, it is seen again that much of the New World ethos derives from Spanish prototypes. Outstanding is the heavy emphasis on personalism and confidence. Just as in most of Latin America, so also in Alcalá and its region, practically all co-operative interaction between individuals rests either on kinship or intimate friendship. "Shame" (*vergüenza*) is the dominating value for women, and courage and virility for men. These are intertwined with many others in a self-supporting network that constitutes the structure of social life.

More studies of modern nation-states are needed, studies which start with the grass roots rather than with the abstractions to which attention is usually almost exclusively given by the social sciences in elucidating Western societies and cultures. One might suggest that a combination of the "higher level" approaches with more intimate and local studies of typical systems of human relationships is required for that scientific understanding that may enable modern man to live in the modern world. Although by no means unique in its genre, Pitt-Rivers' study is an excellent example of the contribution that social anthropology can make to the study of the local community, considered not in isolation, but as a fairly typical, functioning component of the unurbanized phase of a national culture.

JOHN GILLIN
University of North Carolina

The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies. By MARCELL MAUSS. Translated by IAN CUNNISON. With an introduction by E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1954 xiv, 130 pp. $2.50.

The consequences of economic activities almost always go further and deeper into the social fabric than their formal economic intent. The ends-in-view of any contract usually include non-economic considerations; the social relationships among contracting individuals are altered; power structures and life chances are varied as a result of economic transactions; the meanings of work extend far beyond the production and distribution of goods and services.

The same observations hold, of course, for any other set of institutional activities. Religious worship, lineage reunions, reproductive activities: all of these are *social* complexes which encompass ranges of consequences outside the particular area of their occurrence.

But the study of economic behavior has tended to be far more resistant than other disciplines to the inclusion of institutional consequences. Probably, among other reasons, this has been because economics has been able to develop an extensive formal scientific structure more rapidly than other fields of study.

M. Mauss' study of *The Gift*, a translation of his *Essai Sur Le Don*, performs the very valuable service of exploring in fine detail the many non-economic ramifications of a form of activity which superficially appears to be primarily economic in intention and result. The Gift, as M. Mauss successfully demonstrates, has implications for social integration, morality, religion. kinship structure, mythology, aesthetic matters and sexual behavior.

To give is immediately to imply a right to receive; to receive is correlatively immediately to incur an obligation to give. The circulation of economic goods makes more smoothly possible the circulation of social persons. The destruction of goods ensures the elevation of social rank. The payment of a betrothal fee to the mother of a young chief "puts a thread on him." To possess an object identified with a person is in part to possess that person, for the object is part of him. The acquisition of goods is thus the acquisition of symbolic guests in the house, with numerous corollary obligations incurred as host. "It is in the nature of food to be shared; to fail to give others part is 'to kill its essence,' to destroy it for oneself and for others."

These are only some of the diverse ways in which a formal economic exchange, nominally a gift, makes a non-economic difference in the

total social complex. M. Mauss is no provincial. His command over ethnographic data, historical materials in a dazzling number of erudite languages, and the literature of different sciences enables him to present materials from the world and over time in support of his view of *The Gift*.

There is a disappointing bit of social and moral philosophizing at the conclusion of the book which Mauss curiously feels is suggested by the data. But this is minor, in no way detracts from the main thesis, and, indeed, may even be enjoyed in its own terms by the reader so-minded.

We are indebted to Mauss, and to his literate translator, for this contribution to the sociology of economics.

MELVIN M. TUMIN

Princeton Unversity

The People of Panama. By JOHN AND MAVIS BIESANZ. New York: Columbia University Press, 1955. xi, 418 pp. $5.50.

This volume should prove of enduring interest and value to those interested in the scientific study of social relationships; but it also should be of great importance to all who seek reliable, verified information relating to Panama and Latin America in general. Along with the earlier book (*Costa Rican Life*, Columbia University Press, 1944) by the same authors, this title deserves a place on a select bibliography devoted to social life in other lands. It should quickly command attention and respect on the part of the increasing numbers of general readers who are attempting to inform themselves about Latin American; and it is to be hoped, it should not completely escape notice by those calling themselves sociologists who are attempting to develop a systematic body of fact and principle deserving to be known as the science of society.

John and Mavis Biesanz spent nine years in preparing *The People of Panama*. Much of this time was spent in Panama itself, but they supplemented their own observations in the Republic by a thorough search of the historical, geographic, and other literature pertaining to the people of the country they were studying. They show a commendable familiarity with the census and other statistical information relating to the nation and its various subdivisions. Maps, charts, and photographs are used with skill, but tables are conspicuous by their absence. The style of the book is concise and lucid, so much so that one can be sure great care was taken in the writing.

A study of the table of contents reveals adequately the scope of the presentation. The book is divided into 19 principal parts, or "chapters," although no such designation is given them in the text and it is obvious that many of them are merely subdivisions of some of the others. The first of these, "Crossroads of the World," is the introduction, and the second, "From Columbus the Dreamer to Goethals the Digger," is a thumbnail sketch of Panamanian history. The four following "chapters" treat economic institutions under the titles "Making a Living on the Isthmus," "The Canal as a Business Enterprise," "The Economy of Urban Panama," and "The Agriculture of Panama," respectively. Then come three subdivisions concerned with political institutions, namely "Panama's National and International Politics" (a single page which obviously is the introduction to the two which follow), "The Game of Politics," and " 'Good Neighbors.' " A lengthy treatment of "The Social Pyramid: Class, Race, and Nationality," comes next, followed by six subdivisions dealing with domestic institutions, the part of the book in which undoubtedly the Biesanz' are at their best: "Everyday Life," "The Family in Panama," "Rural Family Life," "The Family in Urban Panama," " 'Home on the Zone'," and "The West Indian Negro Family on the Isthmus of Panama." "Schools and Schooling," "The Business of Pleasure," and "The People of Panama," the latter a three-page conclusion, complete the list of "chapters." Also included are a dozen pages of footnotes, a "Select Bibliography," an "Authors' Note," and an Index.

It is easy to find fault with any publication. No doubt many would disagree with the details of the frame of reference the authors have used. The reviewer, for example, feels that use could well have been made of the rural sociologists' category of man-land relationships, in preference to the way the space in the "chapter" on agriculture was utilized; or that some attention should have been given to such concepts as primary groups, neighborhoods, and communities; or that the demographic materials were inadequately employed. Likewise questions about methodology could be raised. The point made above relative to the basic system of subordination, perhaps merely a publisher's whim, may be deserving of criticism, and one might even question the appropriateness of the title. But the fundamental fact is that the authors have satisfied themselves as to frame of reference, methodology, and scheme of organization, and have applied them in a long, intensive study of a given society. The net result is a highly interesting and valuable

account of a small but very important portion of the western hemisphere.

T. LYNN SMITH
University of Florida

Netherlanders in America: Dutch Immigration to the United States and Canada, 1789–1950. By HENRY S. LUCAS. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1955. London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 1955. xvi, 744 pp. $10.00.

Every school boy in American learns something about the role which people from Holland played in the early settlement in America. They learn about Henry Hudson and his Half Moon and his exploration of the east coast of North America, and of the river that was to bear his name and along which early Dutch colonists built their communities. They learn, too, something about the settlement of the Dutch in Pennsylvania promoted by William Penn.

Beyond these noted early settlements, interest in and information concerning the immigration and activities of the people from Holland tends to be limited to those localities where they established their closely-knit communities. The total number of immigrants from the Netherlands from 1820 to 1949 was only 265,539; fewer in number than those contributed by either the Scandinavian countries or Greece, not to mention those far more numerous contributions from Germany, Italy, Ireland, Russia and England. While they settled in every state of the union, the states of greatest concentration, in addition to New York and New Jersey, were in the Middle West, with Michigan attracting most of all. Since 1930, many have gone to California.

In producing this book the author has shown extraordinary industry, indicated in part by the fact that the footnotes in small type make up 69 pages. While this reviewer wouldn't be able to say for certain, it is his conviction that there in not a colony of Hollanders in the United States that has not received some mention, if not a rather elaborate description of the community and its history.

Three-fourths of the book is taken up with the bare chronicle of the various settlements. However, the last three chapters contain material of the direct interest to the sociologist. Chapter IX, "Trial and Faith" recounts the causes of the 1847 and later immigration, the ordeals of ocean-crossing of those times, the deep religious faith that sustained them in their trials, and the development of religious institutions on the frontier. The author seems to feel the Dutch were exceptional among the immigrants in their spiritual devotion, but in fact, this characterized most immigrant groups of the time as their chronicles will testify.

Chapter X, "Press and Politics," brings out the interesting dilemmas faced by Hollanders, for example, in trying to decide whether to be Democrats (who had been kind to immigrants, but were pro-slavery) or join the emerging Republican party, which like themselves was anti-slavery. As usual, they divided on politics. There was the Boer War, 1899–1902, which stirred the American Dutch as no other world event had done. Chapter XI, "Education and Character," describes among other things the struggle of the immigrant with the English language, which seemed especially difficult for the Hollander, and has been a factor along with others, in retarding assimilation.

Those sociologists who are interested in immigration and in immigrant groups in their adjustment to the American social and physical environment will find considerable grist for their mills in this book.

LOWRY NELSON
University of Minnesota

The Norwegians: A Study in National Culture. By DAVID RODNICK. Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1955. vii, 165 pp. $3.25.

The author's disarming admissions about the limitations of this report on 'basic personality structure' do not seem to warrant the facile and sophisticated assurance with which generalizations and inferences are drawn. The representativeness of his samples is not demonstrated, nor (apparently) were his written findings submitted to experienced critics in Norway. Alleged covert traits are occasionally asserted as projections from their ambivalent opposites in alleged overt traits. Discriminating Norwegians being told in no uncertain terms about their own 'personality' and culture are puzzled and amused if not irritated by Rodnick's alleged methods and dicta.

The chapters deal first with personal characteristics, then with family, socialization, youth and sex roles, class and occupational differences, and finally with religious, political and other institutional attitudes, differences and trends. The last six chapters have greater verisimilitude than the first few, perhaps because the fields which they purport to cover are already common knowledge or published history. Except for a few 1949-50 statistical bureau reports and official bulletins, and Gallup polls, Rodnick cites almost no general historical or documentary sources. There is no bibliography.

Both the author's and his informants' statements are peppered with unprecise terms such as "many," "most," "few," "people here," "our acquaintances," "with few exceptions," "all," "are conditioned to be." . . . Many inconsistencies of characterization appear, almost juxtaposed but unexplained. In some such passages, each half of the incongruous pair can easily be true of many different individual Norwegians contacted by a visitor in different localities. Such balanced opposites remind one of palmists' character readings done in hedged terms, so that very few statements can be directly challenged. There is another range of statements which are obvious and plausible: on closer thought they are such propositions as could be made with some validity about some people in any Western culture.

The Rodnicks seem to have made every effort to be even-handed and objective, "letting the chips fall where they may," but always in a quite friendly manner. The most encouraging aspect of this book is that it at least represents an effort to study people alive, and functioning *in habitat*, and can be corrected by habitat sociologists and other grass-roots students with more time and perhaps more penetrating or valid techniques.

THOMAS D. ELIOT
State University of Iowa

The Other Man: A Study of the Social, Legal and Clinical Aspects of Homosexuality. By D. J. WEST. With a foreword by ALFRED A. GROSS. New York: Whiteside, Inc., and William Morrow and Co., 1955. 224 pp. $4.00.

Some social problems are always with us and precisely because of their ubiquity and constancy come up for only periodic examination. Homosexuality is a problem of this kind. In Anglo-Saxon countries the homosexual has always been considered a race apart. Popular notions, as erroneous as they are harsh, have perpetuated a system in which the homosexual is subject to innumerable liabilities and plays the role of the eternal scapegoat. The sense of guilt which manifests itself in forms of antisocial behavior, the "gay" underworld, and the waste of human resources needs no emphasis among social scientists. But because Dr. West has chosen to write for the intelligent layman this book has special merit. Its style throughout is clear, with no attempt to lecture to the reader. Much of the available evidence is marshalled and skillfully woven into the exposition. The brevity of the work contrasts sharply with the range of problems considered and no fundamentally new perspectives are introduced. The objective is to present systematically and dispassionately what we know, or what we think we know, of the homosexual.

A cross cultural comparison of ancient civilizations and contemporary societies leads to the suggestion that homosexual tendencies are normal in the species and occur wherever they are sanctioned. Where forbidden, these tendencies must be repressed. The question, then, is to account for the "hard core" (Kinsey's 4 per cent) which is exclusively homosexual and to explain why repression does not work for all in our culture. This argument clearly emphasizes social factors as opposed to genetic or biological explanations. Psychoanalytic theory is suggested as the most fruitful interpretation. However, the author is aware of the tremendous gaps in our knowledge and pessimistic about the efficacy of therapeutic techniques. Finally, legal reform which would make homosexual practices between consenting adults a private rather than a public concern is recommended.

Many will disagree with Dr. West's approach. A universal homosexual tendency is not demonstrated because many societies have permitted or encouraged homosexual practices. Those who view homosexuality as a sign of neurosis will not be content with the statement that "an original, neurotic conflict . . . often burns itself out through the process of establishing a homosexual outlook." No definitive answers to these and a host of related questions are available at present. But the presentation of a well articulated point of view and a frontal assault upon current misconceptions deserves a careful reading.

MAURICE LEZNOFF
University of Chicago

Social Problems. By T. LYNN SMITH and Associates. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1955. x, 517 pp. $4.75.

This book has been designed as an introductory text for courses in contemporary social problems at the freshman and sophomore levels. The work is a collaboration of seventeen contributors who have had extensive experience with such courses. Each chapter, prepared by an individual author with the exception of one that represents coauthorship, is a concise and reasonably comprehensive introduction to the study of a major area of current social problems in the United States.

The authors recognize the range and variety of material that has come to be expected in a text on social problems. The organization begins with a series of chapters relating to problems in which people themselves are directly involved: Population Problems; Manpower and Labor Force Problems; Problems of Aging and the

Aged; the Handicapped, the Incapacitated, and the Afflicted; and Problems of Crime and Juvenile Delinquency. A note of newness is here introduced in the study of the labor force and the aged. Next, an area of social problems treated as specific to the way of life of large segments of American society includes: Rural Problems and Urban Problems. Another set of problems is presented in the context of maladjustments which impede effective functioning of our principal social institutions: Domestic and Family Problems; Economic Problems; Industrial and Labor Problems; Problems in Education; Problems in Government and Politics; and Problems in Health and Medical Services. In this set of problems, human relations in industry and social organization for health represent relatively new foci for introduction to the study of social problems. In the area of social participation and adjustment two chapters appear: Minority and Racial Problems; and Problems Arising from Cultural Contacts. The latter chapter represents an additional focus that has not received extensive treatment in texts in social problems. A final area of analysis includes one chapter: Problems of International Relations.

T. Lynn Smith is to be commended upon the success with which he has integrated and interrelated the work of numerous authors, in part through introductory statements but also through a frame of reference that makes critically significant the specific content of contemporary problems in a changing society. The definition of social problems for the purpose of this text is: "A social problem is a situation or condition (1) of which a considerable share of a society's members are aware, (2) which they judge to be sufficiently out of line with their standards or such a threat to their well-being or self-respect that corrective action must be taken, but (3) about which the best course to pursue is highly perplexing and debatable" (p. 4).

The authors of this volume are to be commended on their terse presentation of contemporary social problems that are in a state of flux. In addition to being a readable book at the freshman and sophomore level, teaching and learning aids include carefully prepared lists of study questions and briefly annotated selected references at the end of each chapter.

Although the list of coauthors of the volume appears opposite the title page, their identification with the sections for which they are responsible appears only in the table of contents. Thus, a rather serious oversight on the part of the publisher is a failure to identify in the table of contents the author of one of the chapters of the book.   HENRY L. ANDREWS

University of Alabama

Student Government, Student Leaders and the American College. Edited by ELIOT FREIDSON assisted by HEDVAH LANG SHUCHMAN. With an Introduction by EDWARD K. GRAHAM. Philadelphia: United States National Student Association, 1955. xi, 88 pp. and Appendix. $2.00.

On the basis of a Ford Foundation grant in the spring of 1954, the United States National Student Association planned and executed during the 1954–55 academic year a mass survey of certain aspects of student activities in college with special attention to student government. Started as late as November, the research was done rather hastily, so hastily, in fact, that there was insufficient time to pretest carefully the three questionnaires which were administered by mail. The supplementary interview schedule, used with about two hundred persons—students, faculty members, and administrative personnel in fourteen institutions—had to be constructed as the interviewer went from place to place. In spite of these limitations, frankly admitted by the editor in his preface, the study probably deserves more notice on the part of sociologists than it is likely to get.

The book is divided into three parts. Part One deals with the research reports. Based upon the assumptions that the sex and size of the student body and the type of institutional control were significant variables affecting the status of student government, the questionnaires, which nowhere appear in the book, were constructed and sent directly to deans of students, student body presidents, and other student leaders. The initial chapter is concerned with the resulting tables and their interpretation. The next two chapters on "the context of student government" and "four types of student leader" complete Part One. Part Two consists of chapters on "a student personnel worker's point of view" and "a student point of view" by F. Martin Erickson, Jr., who conducted the interviews with persons in the institutions contacted, and Harry H. Lunn, Jr., President of the United States Student Association, respectively. Part Three consists of many somewhat oversimplified tables, each with its computed but, to me, superfluous chi square.

The reviewer found the greatest amount of sociological meat in the chapters following the quantitative materials of Chapter One. As a *sociological* study its greatest weakness lies in the design and techniques employed which resulted in such limited data as to raise grave questions as to whether they provide adequate basis for generalizing concerning the universe purportedly under investigation. In a short review, however, it is impossible to deal adequately either with the strengths or weaknesses of the study. Suffice it to say that a careful reading of

this book is likely to be productive of insights for the discerning college administrator, faculty member, dean of students, and anyone interested in the sociology of vital roles in the university community. Like many others this study raises more questions than it answers. If, as President Graham says in the Introduction, "the student movement in America is coming of age," it is to be hoped that this will be followed by more careful and less hurried research.

JAMES T. LAING
Kent State University

National Policies for Education, Health and Social Services. Columbia University Bicentennial Conference Series. Edited by JAMES E. RUSSELL. Garden City: Doubleday and Company, Inc.: 1955. xxviii, 551 pp. $7.50.

When Columbia University celebrated its bicentennial, it developed a series of events during a full year around the theme, "Man's Right to Knowledge and the Free Use Thereof." The present volume summarizes one of the six major conferences it sponsored during that period, held June 2 to 5, 1954.

The seven sections of the conference, represented by parts of the book, dealt with universal public education, higher education, health needs, social services, income security, religion in education, and academic freedom. Robert Morrison MacIver and Adlai E. Stevenson provide brilliant concluding papers in the eighth part of the book, delivered at a final plenary session.

As one has every right to expect, the papers and comments in such a volume range from the trivial and ritualistic to the profound. Participants who had something to say on these pressing areas of social concern and took the conference as an occasion to say it offer many keen insights into current problems of the academic man, the sociological researcher, and the free society. In my estimation, it is an important volume for sociologists to read. It is a way for them to keep oriented to professional and social problems to which they may be too close and from which they may too carefully insulate themselves.

Perhaps the best way to suggest the usefulness of the thirty-two papers and the many briefer summaries and comments is to give some brief samples. Henry M. Wriston, former president of Brown University, analyzes the self-defeating character of much educational standardization, especially that disguised as accreditation. He notes that "historically the regions where accreditation has been weakest have produced the best institutions and those where accreditation has been strongest have not been freed of shoddy institutions."

Academic research sweatshops, among other aspects of "Financing Higher Education," are probed by President Robert D. Calkins of the Brookings Institution. As he puts it, "Calculations of the crudest sort are made for the allocation of costs between instruction and research." He therefore contends that "as long as universities are willing to offer first-rate research at cut-rate prices there will be buyers in a world that has become research-conscious." In other words, "until research is charged its proportionate cost we shall have no idea how misleading educational figures are in fact, or how seriously administrative decisions are distorted by relying upon them." Unfortunately, Calkins discusses only the economic costs of sponsored academic research.

With sociologists now so often devoted to the improvement of techniques for mass manipulation, Stevenson raises the timely question "if today mass manipulation is not a greater danger than economic exploitation; if we are not in greater danger of becoming robots than slaves."

In his important paper on "Government and Social Welfare," MacIver raises such questions as, "Are people beset by anxiety more likely to be enterprising than people buoyed by hope?" And he comments, ". . . these are questions of the kind to which our social sciences might well address themselves more seriously and on a greater scale, if they want to vindicate their place in the sun."

ALFRED MCCLUNG LEE
Brooklyn College of the City of N. Y.

Satellite Generals: A Study of Military Elites in the Soviet Sphere. Hoover Institute Studies. Series B: Elites, No. 5. By ITHIEL DE SOLA POOL with the collaboration of GEORGE K. SCHUELLER, ROBERT H. BILLIGMEIER, CARY FISHER, PAUL KATONA, CHENG YUAN, AND JANUSZ K. ZAWODNY. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1955. vi, 165 pp. $1.75.

One of the major weapons which the Soviet Union used to establish its dominion over the nations of eastern Europe was control of the armed forces. In this volume, the process by which such control was secured is studied through an examination of the composition of the successive shifts of top military leaders in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Romania and Hungary. The conclusions are clear and not unexpected: the Soviet method was unscrupulous, but guided by a consummate organizational skill.

The pattern in each case was much the same. For about two years after the end of the war, native career officers were permitted to occupy the highest rungs of the military hierarchy. Some selectivity was exercised, in the direction

of "marginal" men: members of ethnic minorities, officers previously convicted of some crime or known to have collaborated with the Nazis, and especially those who had spent some time in the Soviet Union and had proven amenable to Communist indoctrination. This last category included former prisoners of war and even survivors of the Bela Kun movement—evidence that life in the Soviet Union is not necessarily the disillusioning experience it is popularly supposed to be. But, during this period, attention was concentrated on the "security" forces and on the "education" departments of the regular army, the goal being to staff them with politically reliable officials who would winnow or at least mark out the most implacable among the opposition and institute a "re-training" program among the rest.

When the moment came for frontal take-over, the career officers were mostly purged. Their places were taken by politicians and intriguers, men whose qualification was fanatic loyalty rather than technical competence, men who, if they had had any previous military experience at all, had never risen above captain or major but now found themselves catapulted into the positions of major generals. Frequently they were "natives" in claim only, so tenuous were their ties with the countries whose armies they now commanded. Their purpose was to Sovietize the armed forces' organization, equipment, training, and channels of authority, to effectuate Communist control beyond question or revocation.

Their work done, they, in turn, are to be purged, to make way for a new group of officers in whom, presumably, the qualities of political reliability and professional competence will be combined. This process, however, had only begun when the study was completed, and could not be fully documented. The authors predict a "drastic change" in the character of the satellite military elites "probably no further away than 1962 or 1963 [when] the new generation of officers who have been in training since 1945 will be ready for promotion to general officer rank. . . ."

The concluding chapter deals with the composition of the leaders of the Chinese Communist and Nationalist armies. This is obviously a problem of a different order, and, though interesting similarities with the European situation are shown, the analysis is the least satisfactory part of the book. It would have been preferable to have done a comparable study of the Yugoslav military elite, which might have revealed some of the causes of Soviet failure in that country.

ROBERT A. FELDMESSER

Harvard University

BOOK NOTES

Capital Formation and Foreign Investment in Underdeveloped Areas. An analysis of research needs and program possibilities prepared from a study supported by the Ford Foundation. By CHARLES WOLF, JR. and SIDNEY C. SUFRIN. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press (Maxwell School Series 1), 1955. viii, 134 pp. $3.00.

This report starts with an explicit recognition that the analysis of capital formation, like that of economic development generally, must transcend the conventional boundaries of economic science. This recognition is, however, more a vote for virtue than an indication of the concepts and theories primarily used in the ensuing discussion, which mostly remains within the framework of economics. The principal exception is to be found in Chap. 2, "Entrepreneurship and the Demand for Capital," which introduces questions of social structure and values relative to habits of savings and to the conversion of "passive" capital to "active" capital through entrepreneurship. Other substantive chapters deal with "Technological Alternatives and the Optimum Use of Capital" (Chap. 3) and "For-eign Investment and Capital Formation" (Chap. 4).

Almost half the book (50 pp.) is devoted to an annotated bibliography, which is better on publications of international organizations than on national and private sources. The footnotes in the text are highly inconsistent in citational style, but this may be a scholarly quibble since the interested reader could probably track down the sources from the information given.—WILBERT E. MOORE.

Irrigation Civilizations: A Comparative Study. A Symposium on Method and Result in Cross-Cultural Regularities. By JULIAN H. STEWARD, ROBERT M. ADAMS, DONALD COLLIER, ANGEL PALERM, KARL A. WITTFOGEL, AND RALPH L. BEALS. Washington, D. C.: Pan American Union, Social Science Section, Department of Cultural Affairs, 1955. v, 78 pp. Fifty cents, paper.

The theory of "Asiatic" or "Oriental society," now called "Hydraulic societies," is one of the few comprehensive sociological theories built upon the assumption of an economic determi-

nation of some kind, which after a good century is still accepted by some scholars. First outlined by Karl Marx and later developed by some of his followers, it became more widely known and discussed in this country after 1940, when K. A. Wittfogel and his collaborators tried to show the usefulness of this theory for an analysis of pre-Columbian American cultures. The present symposium, based upon a discussion at the 1953 Tucson meeting of the American Anthropological Association, is an attempt towards a test of the theory. The work is introduced by a statement of the theory by J. H. Steward in a form which is basically a simplified version of Wittfogel's 1938 theory. The next four contributors had the task of presenting data on aspects of the economic and social structure of ancient Mesopotamia, coastal Peru, Mesoamerica and China which were regarded as relevant for the theory. R. Beals had to discuss these data in the light of the predictions of the theory, while the concluding contribution by J. Steward attempted to draw the implications for a modification of the theory as a result of the data presentation.

The value of the contributions is quite different; one contributor had to depend on secondary sources, and therefore upon interpretations made by earlier scholars often on the basis of antiquated earlier theory. In the case of Peru for which only archeological material existed, any presentation of the "facts" means already a presentation of some theory, and new excavations have now made some interpretations questionable. Wittfogel did not present any factual data on China but gave a refined version of his theory, which would have presented a better starting point than the old form of the theory presented by Steward. One of the interesting details of Wittfogel's statement is a good definition of the Chinese gentry (p. 45–6) New and of real importance is the contribution of A. Palerm on an irrigation system in ancient Mesoamerica, because it is a clean, sober study of a specific case. On the basis of A. Palerm's work, Mesoamerica has to be accepted as "a special case" (p. 62). The discussion by R. Beals, on the other hand, is lucid and clear and a hard blow for practically all others' assumptions of the theory. J. Steward believes that "it does not greatly matter whether the testing . . . results in drastic modification" (p. 4) and he insists that "criticisms . . . which concern facts alone and which fail to offer better formulations are of no interest" (p. 6). Thus, he still believes that irrigation is "the principal independent variable from the point of view of correlations" (p. 71).—WOLFRAM EBERHARD.

The Judicial Process Among the Barotse of Northern Rhodesia. By MAX GLUCKMAN. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1955. xxiii, 386 pp. $6.75.

Sustained studies among the Barotse, a deep insight into their culture, a detailed knowledge of legal theory, and a careful analysis of a large number of legal cases have combined to make it possible for Professor Gluckman to present us a unique and pioneering work. Where other recent analyses of the law systems of African peoples (Cory on the Sukuma and Howell on the Nuer) are fruitful delineations of tribal laws and therefore useful for the study of comparative law, the present work is, as well, a contribution to the theory of jurisprudence. Indeed, for the sociologist it is a contribution to social theory. The title of the volume is thus an inadequate advertisement, for it suggests the more traditional anthropological concern with the customs of legal procedure. Actually, Gluckman is making a careful and detailed analysis of the assumptions that underlie court behavior among this African people, and by extension, an empirical investigation of decision-making in a preliterate society.

Let me illustrate with the example of the chapter entitled "Cross Examination and the Assessment of Evidence: the Norm of the Reasonable Man." Gluckman asserts: "The reasonable man is recognized as the central figure in all developed systems of law, but his presence in simpler legal systems has not been noticed" (p. 83). By brief presentation of legal cases and careful analysis of the decision making process, Gluckman shows that the assumption of a "reasonable man"—that is, how a person would normally be expected to act—underlies the whole juridical process among the Barotse. Reasonableness is, of course, culturally defined. From this we see that the legal assumption of cultural norms is an important dynamic in the behavior system of this people and by implication, Gluckman suggests, of all people. In the process he offers us examples of the decision making activities in a primitive society and the role of the elite in the preservation and re-definition of normative attitudes in the culture.

Unfortunately, it must be stated that, though interesting and insightful, the volume does not make easy reading. This is in large measure the result of the recalcitrant nature of his material, the difficulty inherent in introducing the reader to a foreign and changing *dramatis personae* and the necessarily manifold intricacies inherent in any legal system, however

primitive or advanced. In part, however, the fault lies in a rather circuitous and disorderly mode of presentation.

Aside from the analytic and theoretical virtues inherent in the document itself, the reading of such a volume, however difficult, by the non-anthropologist could serve as a healthy antidote to the predigested ethnographic material and the "Reader's Digest" ethnologies which have come to be the cultural fare of the educated man outside the field of anthropology.—W. R. G.

Estructura Social de la Argentina. Análisis estadístico. By GINO GERMANI. Buenos Aires: Editorial Raigal, 1955. 278 pp. No price indicated.

As Sr. Germani says in his introduction, a more appropriate title of this book would be "Studies Concerning *Some Aspects* of the Social Structure of Argentina." The author's explicit purpose is to study the numerical size and, within limits, the geographical distribution of groups and sub-groups believed to have sociological significance for the study of Argentine social structure insofar as existing statistical sources permit.

One hundred and ten tables are interpreted in a relatively concise text. The first section deals with the demographic structure, including discussions of sex, age, origins, activity, marital status, family size, urban and rural distribution, and fertility, to mention but a few of the subjects. The second major section deals with the socio-economic groupings. Discussion of social class is based primarily on occupation and income. A final section of two chapters gives distribution of educational levels and intelligence quotients and attempts to analyze voting behavior in relation to class and occupation structure. Wherever data permit, and it is appropriate, time series are given and distinctions made between rural-urban and various regions of the republic.

The author apparently has attempted to mine available sources and to make as many pertinent interpretations as are possible. As the quantity and quality of statistics in Argentina are better than in most Latin American countries, the effort should provide useful data for those wishing to make comparisons. Even the strict adherence to occupation and economic criteria in discussing class is probably more justified for Argentina than for any other Latin American country. Interpretive sections of the text are concerned primarily with indicating the sociological significance of the data rather than with speculative projections.

Sr. Germani shows a degree of sophistication and awareness of gaps in knowledge which he recognizes can only be filled by special field studies. Everyone will hope that Argentine sociology will soon develop to the point where he may undertake the needed investigations.—RALPH L. BEALS

Människan i Industrisamhället. Fritidsliv—Samhällsliv. Av TORGNY T. SEGERSTEDT och AGNE LUNDQUIST. Stockholm: Studieförbundet Näringsliv och Samhälle, 1955. 438, lxix pp. Kr. 25:–, paper.

In 1948, under the aegis of SNS, a Swedish group devoted to the study of community and industrial problems, plans were first drawn for a comprehensive research program upon which to base subsequent planning projects. Research ideas were defined and refined at meetings involving industrial and academic experts and, in addition, the resources of the Institute of Sociology at Uppsala University were given over to the project. In 1952, the first results were published, dealing with life within several industrial plants. This is the second report, and it is devoted to leisure time activities and community life in two Swedish cities. Plans call for a later issue of an English summary of the two volumes.

The book is an extraordinarily detailed work, containing material that should prove invaluable to industrial sociologists, community planners, and workers in the area of social stratification, among others. It is particularly worthwhile because it explicitly states the hypotheses underlying each piece of investigation, and then proceeds rigidly to test the assumptions. For American sociologists, the Swedish study provides cross-cultural support (and often rejection) of alleged relationships stated as universals for industrialized societies, but based on research done only in the United States.

The Swedish publication is actually two studies; the first by Lundquist investigates the relationship between activities and attitudes of 2,766 persons in the cities of Huskvarna and Katrineholm. It is highly sophisticated and suggestive. It makes interesting use, for instance, of "don't know" responses on attitude questions, inferring, and later trying to prove, that these show a lesser degree of community integration than either negative or positive responses.

Segerstedt's contribution concerns itself with the relationships among class position, community activities, general and special knowledge, and social attitudes. It, too, is an outstandingly fine job. Professor Segerstedt has

also integrated the first two parts of the book in a succinct summary. It can only be hoped that the English version is comprehensive enough to make these findings as valuable as they could be to American sociologists.—GILBERT GEIS

Peasants, Politics, and Economic Change in Yugoslavia. By Jozo TOMASEVICH. Stanford: Stanford University Press; London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 1955. xii, 743 pp. $7.50.

Yugoslavia was created at the end of World War I from the ruins of the Hapsburg and the Ottoman empires. Several states and parts of states were joined together to create this nation. Although consisting of Slavic peoples, they had never before been united into a single state and had developed different socioeconomic institutions which were carried into the new state giving it an extremely heterogeneous character.

This work traces through the historical backgrounds of the various segments that went into the formation of modern Yugoslavia, but the major emphasis is on the development of the Yugoslav peasantry and agriculture during the period between World War I and World War II.

The work is divided into three parts with a total of twenty-eight chapters. Part One consists of eleven chapters and is called "Political and Socioeconomic Development Before 1914." This gives an historical account of the political and the socioeconomic conditions that prevailed in these areas prior to 1914. Stress is placed on land tenure problems and their effects on agricultural production and the distribution of income. Part Two consists of one chapter and is entirely concerned with developments during World War I and their effects on agriculture. Part Three is called "The Period Between the Two World Wars" and contains sixteen chapters. This is the heart of the work and contains information on a wide variety of topics including political organization and development of natural resources, growth of population, over-population, agrarian reform, size of farms, labor, capital, technology and agriculture. The latter section of this part contains materials on food utilization, health, markets, agricultural credit and taxation.

The work is essentially an economic history dealing largely with agriculture. It is a scholarly work, but since it does not extend beyond the beginning of World War II, its main value to the sociologist will be in the providing of historical backgrounds for contemporary studies of Yugoslavia and the Balkans generally.— N. L. WHETTEN

The Bourgeoisie in 18th Century France. By ELINOR G. BARBER. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955. xi, 165 pp. $3.50.

This monograph by a young historian is the felicitous product of a marriage between history and sociology in more than a merely figurative sense: the author, who is the wife of a sociologist, has explicitly applied in historical research the concepts of structural-functional theory to which she had been introduced by her husband.

The stated purposes of the study are twofold: (1) its chief concern is the analysis of the bourgeoisie's position in the class structure of 18th century France; (2) its secondary aim is to relate this analysis to the functional role the bourgeoisie played in changing the French class structure in the Revolution of 1789. The author has succeeded much better with the first of these objectives, to which by far the greater part of the book is devoted, than with the second.

A brief survey of the class structure of 18th century France as a whole is followed by an analysis of the internal subdivisions of the bourgeois class which shows a hierarchy of rank differences along occupational and economic lines. The discussion then turns to the value system and the attitudes of the bourgeoisie. The author points up the ambivalence resulting from the encroachment of secular rationalism upon traditional religious values, and the moral conflicts faced by the bourgeois who accepted the hereditary class differences in style of life but who at the same time hoped to rise individually to the more prestigeful way of life of the nobility. However, during the course of the 18th century the bourgeoisie's hopes of upward mobility were increasingly frustrated by a feudal reaction of the nobility who reasserted their traditional privileges and succeeded in blocking most of the established channels of mobility.

In her short concluding chapter the author suggests the frustration of mobility aspirations as the main precipitation factor that caused the alienation of the bourgeoisie from the old order and drove it into the arms of the Revolution. This interpretation is hard to accept for it completely overlooks the economic grievances of the bourgeoisie against royal absolutism. Discriminatory taxation and restrictive regulations were seriously hampering capitalistic progress, and the imminent bankruptcy of the government threatened to engulf bourgeois property. The growing economic pressures were at least as important in rousing the bourgeoisie to revolutionary action as was the rigidification of the status system.

The onesidedness of the conclusions probably reflects the limitations of structural-functional stratification theory when it focusses attention on the subjective aspects of the class structure to the exclusion of objective economic factors. Despite such pitfalls, this well-written study is a good illustration of the valuable and much-needed contribution that historical analysis can make to our understanding of social stratification.—KURT B. MAYER

Parity and Prestige in English Secondary Education: A Study in Educational Sociology. By OLIVE BANKS. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1955. vii, 262 pp. U. S. distributor, Grove Press. $6.00.

This study concerns the impact of occupational and class structure upon the organization of English secondary education. It is based on data gathered by perusal of documents (school reports, educational journals, association records) that extend back over half a century. The analysis delineates historical trends and presents a systematic view of the present school system.

English secondary education is now comprised of three types of public school ("public" here refers to the American definition). Government policy would have it that these schools retain distinctive identities through a tripartite differentiation of purposes and programs. At the same time, in keeping with democratic principles a parity of prestige and support should obtain. Banks indicates why this is impossible given the encompassing social structure. School prestige derives from the occupations and social positions for which students are prepared. Since the several schools relate to occupations of differential status, the schools will vary considerably in prestige.

This interpretation partly accounts for the drift of each school type toward a comprehensive structure similar in form to the American high school. The low-rank schools want to add the high-status programs; the high-status schools like to be of service in adapting to the proliferation of occupations, keeping abreast of shifts in the prestige of occupational groupings. All the schools gain flexibility in relating to the occupational structure by becoming less selective in orientation. Thus despite government policy, local pressures produce a tendency toward multilateral schools. With a glance toward the less controlled American experience, the English are concerned that they achieve this comprehensive form without losing educational content in the process.

As an insightful interpretative study based on soft data and hard thinking, *Parity and Prestige* is an important contribution to a comparative sociology of education.—BURTON R. CLARK

Selected Readings in an Introduction to Sociology. Edited by WARNER E. GETTYS, WALTER FIREY, LAURENCE FOSTER, and C. W. McKEE. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: The Stackpole Company, 1954. viii, 412 pp. No price indicated.

Any reviewer of this book is somewhat encumbered by the specific limitations set forth by the editors who stated that "This book . . . has been prepared to serve principally as a companion volume and supplement to the textbook of the series, *Introduction to Sociology*" and that "The choice of readings has been made with special consideration to the interests of the students who may not become sociologists and who may not take advanced courses in the subject."

In the selection of articles the editors included many which are excellent "accessories" to any basic introductory sociology textbook. Generally these articles have long since come under the critical scrutiny of students of human behavior and endorsed by certain of the "schools of thought" at the least. The first chapter presents a rather definitive treatment of "science" in general and "science in human relations" in particular. This has seemed to be an excellent point of departure with "beginners" in sociology. Even if the students do not plan to major in sociology they should profit immeasurably from an acquaintance with the habits and attitudes of objectivity so far as human relations are concerned. Parts IV, V, and VII were particularly well chosen with a few exceptions. The cases included helped to document the earier treatment of the "science of human relations."

The editors may have done themselves a disservice by stating that the volume was designed as a companion to a specific textbook. My first reaction when I read this was that "This won't help me since I do not now use the textbook designated." Of course further examination of the volume revealed that this was not true. But the bias tends to develop and cloud the issue.

The treatment of "Cooperation" in Chapter 13 seems to fall short in the effort to provide a better understanding of this aspect of social interaction. The emphasis seems to be on describing cooperative organizations as economic entities rather than cooperation as a social process.

In general I think that the book's maximum usefulness will be with advanced students who are majoring in sociology. Generally freshmen enroll in this course. These students would find this a rather difficult book in many sections. Chapter 3 presents a good example. Much of the content is understandable only to people who have completed no less than the introductory course in sociology. I suspect that the first several paragraphs would tend to discourage the immature reader. Consider this statement: "One conclusion was that, since human behavior exhibits responses controlled by purposes defined in terms of remembered norms which are universals, rather than merely responses determined by physical events which are particulars, human behavior must therefore have its basis in extra-empirically verifiable extra-biological factors" (p. 38).—W .S. M. BANKS, II

Prediction Methods in Relation to Borstal Training. Studies in the Causes of Delinquency and the Treatment of Offenders, I. By HERMANN MANNHEIM and LESLIE T. WILKINS. With a foreword by Sir FRANK NEWSAM. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1955. 276 pp. 17/6. U. S. distributor, British Information Services. $3.15.

Collaboration of a mathematical statistician and criminologist places this first British venture methodologically in the forefront of criminological prediction research. The volume initiates a series on criminological research, which was made a routine government function by 1948 legislation. The researchers had access to all official records, notably to recidivism data, which are the great unknown of American criminology despite our FBI fingerprint registry.

Sixty items are related to success or failure of paroled Borstal inmates. A seven-item table predicts success markedly more accurately than prognoses by housemasters, school governors or psychologists. A unique "second stage" table, from seven other items, is applied to those cases in the middle range of risks predicted by the first table. Academicians will regret the insufficient detail on the multiple regressions from which weights were calculated for these tables.

Ohlin's discovery of a fixed ratio between score-specific failure rates for short and long parole periods, and his interpretation of this as permitting routine readjustment of prediction tables, apparently were independently reached in this British study. Another duplication of American findings is that some items, such as broken homes, which discriminate markedly between delinquents and non-delinquents, are

of little value in differentiating risk categories among the delinquents. From analysis of variance the authors contend that "open" institutions create ten per cent less risk of recidivism than "closed" institutions.

The selection of predictors for investigation is justified mainly by their significance in prior studies, which are thoroughly surveyed, rather than by any specific theory of criminality. Several case studies, presented with brief comments, reveal no systematic criminological theory, virtually no analysis of peer group relations, nor any indication of the behavior systems of which the offenses are a part.—DANIEL GLASER.

Professionalizer, Traditionalizer, and Utilizer: An Interpretative Study of the Work of the General Duty Nurse in Non-Metropolitan Central Missouri General Hospitals. A Study Conducted under the Auspices of the Institute for Research in the Social Sciences, for the Missouri State Nurses' Association under Sponsorship of the American Nurses' Association. By ROBERT W. HABENSTEIN AND EDWIN A. CHRIST. Columbia: University of Missouri, 1955. x, 164 pp. $2.00, processed.

This study, frankly exploratory and interpretative in character, is concerned with the organization and functioning of nursing services in various types of rural hospitals. Not a formal research, in the hypothesis-testing sense, it is nevertheless richly documented with materials drawn from 668 questionnaires and 182 interviews with nursing personnel in general hospitals in non-metropolitan Missouri.

The analysis revolves about three ideal-typical patterns of role organization designed to highlight the perspectives of the nurses studied. The "professionalizer" prides herself on her detached, clinical demeanor, glories in her uniform, cap and pin as symbols of her professional status, and rests her case on the latest technical knowledge. The "traditionalizer" is characterized by her sense of dedication, by her focus on the patient as an individual personality, and by her veneration for accumulated wisdom and experience. The "utilizer" regards nursing as "just a job" and keeps her involvements with it at the minimum level relevant for her short-run personal needs.

What happens when these different perspectives on nursing come together in different types of rural hospitals is the principal burden of the analysis. The "professionalizers," recruited principally from the modern urban nursing schools, tend to be younger and newer on the hospital staff, but because of their training often

find themselves in positions of authority over the older, tradition-oriented nurses. According to the authors, these professionalizing nurses are neither happy nor effective in the smaller rural hospitals, and the turn-over among them is rapid. They are forever finding excuses to slough off the menial, dirty, and "touch" aspects of nursing, as beneath their professional dignity. These bed-side functions are happily carried forward by the traditionalizers among the registered nurses, and by the practical nurses and auxiliaries, who successfully band together as "home guards" to protect themselves against the innovations and authority of the professionalizers, and to speed their departure.

The study impressed this reviewer as generally competent, well-informed and insightful. There is much in it which should be of general interest to students of occupational roles.—E. C. DEVEREUX, JR.

Mother-Daughter Relationships and Social Behavior. A study of some aspects of mother-daughter relationships and the social participations of a selected group of schizophrenic patients treated in St. Elizabeths Hospital in Washington, D. C. By ROSE COOPER THOMAS. Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1955. xiii, 368 pp. $4.00, paper.

This doctoral dissertation in social work is an exploratory inquiry into the possibility that mothers with both schizophrenic and non-psychotic daughters treated the former differently from the latter in their familial relationships. The implications for such findings, according to the author, would be to illuminate the connection between elements of mother-daughter relationships and the social behavior of the daughter.

The study group was composed of 18 Negro women patients admitted to St. Elizabeths Hospital during 1949–1951 between the ages of 18 and 30 years diagnosed with a schizophrenic reaction who had been reared in the home of the mother and with a non-psychotic sister residing in metropolitan Washington, D. C. Eleven of the patients were diagnosed as catatonic schizophrenics, with four as mixed and three as paranoid schizophrenics. Data were obtained from three schedules: medical case records, interviews with the patients, and interviews with the mother and sister of the patients. Areas covered were birth and early life development; relations between family members; school life and relations with teachers and peers; employment and relationships at work; relationships in the community; heterosexual and marital relationships; and mother-daughter relationships of the patient at the time of hospitalization.

The major finding was the mother's rejection of the schizophrenic daughter from the time of the patient's birth. Reasons given for such rejection were: a son was wanted; they were a burden because of an already existing large family; the mother disliked having any children because of the memories of hardships experienced in their own families of orientation. Although the father was generally unstable in his family relations, he was the favored parent of eleven of the eighteen patients, who blamed their mothers for their disturbed marital relationship. Sibling rivalry with a sister was prevalent. Nearly all of the patients had shown no initiative in peer-relations and friendships at school, and none had participated in social activities or other extracurricular activities. Such social isolation is viewed by the author as primarily due to the excessive restrictions imposed by the mothers on their daughters' interaction with others. Special troubles of social and emotional origin had occurred to an extreme degree in the family of the patient. The patient-mother relationships were characterized by more submissiveness on the part of the schizophrenic daughter than for the non-psychotic sister. Four patterns of mother-daughter relationships were defined from the results. Finally, evidence was presented to support the idea that the mothers of the patients were highly submissive to their own mothers and attempted to perpetuate this relationship in rearing their own daughters.

The author is aware of the limitations and exploratory nature of her study due to the limited and somewhat selected number of cases and to the descriptiveness of the data. This work contains, however, numerous and stimulating hypotheses that could be fruitfully tested on a larger and more representative psychiatric population, and is especially recommended to those in the area of social psychiatry.—E. GARTLY JACO

Anticipating Your Marriage. By ROBERT O. BLOOD, JR. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955. xviii, 482 pp. $5.00.

This book is frankly a marriage guide, as acknowledged in both title and preface, the latter stating that "each chapter is organized about a step which the reader himself will experience." It is meant, therefore, to be extremely practical, with very little sociological analysis attempted. In the four parts of the book (Courtship; Marriage; Parenthood; Family Living) there is the usual array of topics in the 21 chapters. The author has read widely and brought together much good material.

The book's merits, however, are marred by certain peculiarities and short-comings. The

table of contents is so long and detailed (11½ pages) that it requires close scrutiny to discover the chapter headings. (Incidentally, Chap. 21 is misnumbered 22.) The index, on the other hand, is woefully short (3½ pages) and inadequate. For example, the important topic of "roles" in marriage receives 16 pages of treatment, yet the word "role" is not in the index and this important concept must be hunted down with what patience the reader can muster. Oddly enough, the longest chapter in the book (36 pages) is on "Giving Physical Expression to Love" before marriage, while the shortest chapter (7 pages) is on "Learning to Live with Children." However, the chapter headings do not do full justice to the book, for the *total* space given to the parent-child relationship at least equals that given to strictly sex matters. The "sex" chapters lean heavily on Kinsey, quoting him at every turn and seemingly accepting his figures without question, in spite of their proven unrepresentativeness. The annotated book list ranges from 1 to 8 references per chapter. Many of these are excellent sources, but 8 of the chapters have only 1 or 2 references each, in spite of the rich offering available.

There are a great many one-paragraph "cases" used throughout, in the Burgess-Wallin manner. These are too short for analysis, but they add interest and have illustrative value. The style of the book is interesting, with much use of colorful metaphor. In places the writing seems pitched for the high school level, but in others it is clearly addressed to college students. All in all, many students will find the book interesting and helpful.—RAY E. BABER

Crisis of the Cities. By FRED K. VIGMAN, Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1955. viii, 155 pp. $3.25.

This is a D book: Deterioration, debts, destitution, decay, distress, and days of reckoning for the dunderheads that delivered our cities into the hands of the devil. And the devil himself is having a splendid time of it as he views the ignominy of American municipalities resulting from undue parsimony, short-sighted or "long-haired" planning or no planning at all, political corruption, and economic depression. It is a sad story. If there is a bright side to the situation he doesn't reveal it. Possibly he was influenced by the earlier muckrakers. But he is also influenced by Lewis Mumford and Patrick Geddes, and above all by his former teacher, the late Delos F. Wilcox.

The book as a whole is quite unsystematic in its organization. The writer jumps from the nineteenth century to the twentieth and back almost in the same breath, or at least on the same page.

He relates a dreary history of failure of municipal leaders and planners. Nor is there much ground for optimism. He sees only trouble ahead. The flight of city people to the suburbs is creating conditions in the inner zones of the municipalities that foreshadow disastrous bankruptcy. Six chapters are devoted to a discussion of some of our major cities: New York— "metropolis in the toils"; Chicago—"decay of the urban heart"; Philadelphia—"from the heights to the depths"; Boston—"the middens of Puritanism"; Detroit—"jerry built industralia"; St. Louis—"blues in the slums"; Pittsburgh—"the tarnished Golden Triangle"; Cleveland—"the Great Forge in difficulty"; Los Angeles—"hedonism in urbs."

There is not much of interest in the book for professional urban sociologists, but for the intelligent layman it could be an antidote to the usual chamber of commerce literature. It would be good reading for city managers, mayors, city councilmen, and other gentlemen of authority. —NOEL P. GIST

Exploring the Small Community. By OTTO G. HOIBERG. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1955. xii, 199 pp. $3.50.

Since 1948 the author of this volume has been director of a bureau of community service at the University of Nebraska. In addition to his work with the towns and villages of his state, he spent three years in Germany after World War II helping to reorganize that nation's religious institutions.

This volume applies to rural communities. Especially is it written for extension workers and laymen who are interested in improving rural life through community organization. The book is divided into two parts. Part I defines the "Essentials of Community Improvement." Part II is devoted to "problem areas" in small communities. Planning mechanisms suited to a variety of situations are discussed, as well as are the special problems of growing, declining, and stationary communities.

As devices for coordinating community activities, the author emphasizes the community calendar and the community council. A rather detailed statement on what community councils do, and how to organize them, is given. A chapter is devoted to "diminishing social cleavages" and to "leadership development."

Somewhat more than half of the book is devoted to "problem areas" in community development. The areas discussed are business and industry; community recreation; the community school; the church; local government; medical care; cultural opportunities and beautification. Each of these problem areas is discussed sympa-

thetically and in a practical manner. Case studies are used to indicate what communities have done toward planning and development in each of the problem areas.

A final chapter in *Exploring the Small Community* depicts "The Small Community: A Social Frontier." In this chapter practical suggestions are made for maintaining community pride and spirit and for developing confidence of the people in the possibilities of community development.

There is not much theory in this book. It is interested in results and cuts right through the materials on what can be done. The volume is simple, well written, and practical. In developing it, the author has made a contribution.—WILLIAM E. COLE

Papers and Proceedings of the Tercentenary Conference on American Jewish Sociology. By the CONFERENCE ON JEWISH SOCIAL STUDIES. *Jewish Social Studies*, Volume XVII, Number 3, July, 1955. 116 pp. Single copies, $2.00.

The originators of this symposium and most of its participants mean nothing more formidable or particularistic by the term "American Jewish Sociology" than the sociological study of the Jews in America. Principal papers, each one based on empirical study of a middle-sized American community, are presented by Norman Miller on "Changing Patterns of Leadership in the Jewish Community," Marshall Sklare, Marc Vosk, and Mark Zborowski on "Forms and Expressions of Jewish Identification," and John P. Dean on "Patterns of Socialization and Association Between Jews and Non-Jews." Each paper is followed by a series of discussions by social scientists and professionals in American Jewish community organization. Among the former are S. M. Lipset, Isidor Chein, Werner J. Cahnman, and Leo Srole.

The cumulative data in these papers strongly affirm the reintegrative trend in American Jewish community life as evidenced by formal religious affiliation (though Orthodoxy is losing out), the desire for Jewish identification, highly articulated community organization, and relative social closure. However, little or no data will be found here on Jews in intellectual or professional occupations in the metropolitan areas, which might reveal variant patterns.

Dean's paper presents the first report known to this reviewer on Jewish-Gentile relations from the eagerly awaited Cornell-Elmira study and is a solid accomplishment. Abraham G. Duker's theoretical discussion of American social structure is highly perceptive. Entwined throughout the reports are well-considered pleas for more

research on the Jewish community in America and for the comparative data on other ethnic groups which will make the results of such studies most meaningful.—MILTON M. GORDON

Citizen's Guide to Desegregation: A Study of Social and Legal Change in American Life. By HERBERT HILL AND JACK GREENBERG. Boston: The Beacon Press, 1955. x, 185 pp. $1.00, paper.

This is a useful handbook by two young officials of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). It deals with the Supreme Court's school segregation decisions of 1954 and 1955, and sets these rulings in an historical perspective.

The first quarter of the book is a history of the changes in the Negro's status since Reconstruction. There then is a brief comment on the separate-but-equal doctrine and the effect of the Fourteenth Amendment on various aspects of civil rights, including school segregation.

The remainder of the book discusses the legal fight against segregated schools, culminating in the above-mentioned decisions. This series of legal battles is directly attributable to the NAACP's over-all plan of action based on the Margold study of the early 1930's. The authors also make the point anent the decade, 1938–48, that although "no cases involving segregated education reached the United States Supreme Court . . . during these years the Supreme Court at each of its terms decided at least one case involving the rights of minorities. . . . Many of these cases . . . made great legal and social gains" (p. 61). The roles of educators and social scientists are emphasized, too, particularly in the later cases, although it is stressed that the decisions were legal and not sociological ones as often claimed by proponents of segregation. Finally, the last four chapters deal with the aftermath of the decisions and sketch out possible questions which may be raised with possible answers and courses of action.

Some criticisms are in order. The opening part of the book is poorly organized, especially Chapters 1 and 3. They are also almost completely lacking in the many footnotes that should have been included. The Appendix does have a section of Notes, but the pertinent ones ought to have been used as footnotes earlier, both in these and other chapters.

This reviewer also feels the authors are too optimistic over the immediate future. This seems especially apparent in the light of the increasing successes of the White Citizens Councils in many areas of the South.

On the whole, however, the authors present a lucid record of the fight against school segre-

gation over the last 25 years which will be of value to many lay people. The Appendix, aside from the notes mentioned above, contains the texts of the Supreme Court decisions and a list of other pertinent cases.—FRANK F. LEE

Mortality Trends in the State of Washington. By CALVIN F. SCHMID, EARLE H. MACCANNELL, AND MAURICE D. VAN ARSDOL, JR. Seattle: Washington State Census Board, 1955. iii, 73 pp. No price indicated.

This volume is a compilation of death rates and life tables for the State of Washington for the years 1910 to 1950. Death rates are shown for each year by age and sex for all causes. For 40 selected causes of death, rates are given for the total population of the State during this period both in tabular and chart form. For 12 of these causes additional information is given in chart form only. These charts show death rates by age and sex for the 1930 and 1950 census periods. The accompanying text describes the data and quotes some additional rates not shown in the charts. In the last chapter, a separate presentation is made for life tables for 1949–51. These have been computed by race and sex for metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas of the State.

According to the authors, the book has been designed primarily for consumers of mortality data without extensive statistical training. The information presented will surely be found useful, but in some instances oversimplification may lead to misinterpretation. For example, mention is made of the difficulties of maintaining a comparable series of data for certain causes of death because of the decennial revisions of the cause-of-death classification. However, the reader is given no assistance in evaluating the effect of these changes. It is also taken for granted that the reader understands the differences between arithmetic and semi-logarithmic charts, and needs no explanation of the nature and structure of the life table. It is always difficult to visualize the needs of a consumer of technical information, and in this case their needs may have been met only partially.—LILLIAN GURALNICK

Psychological Warfare. An Introduction to Ideological Propaganda and the Techniques of Psychological Warfare. By BELA SZUNYOGH. New York: The William-Frederick Press, 1955. 117 pp. $3.00, paper.

If this book is addressed to the public and not to the social scientists, it fulfills a useful stimulating function. It is readable and vividly written. A sociologist, however, would hardly find anything new in it. The mass psychology reminds us of LeBon's impressionistic generalizations; criticism of the Western ideology, as far as the West has any common ideology, is juxtaposed to the "powerful ideological belief and driving power of Communism." However, such a statement immediately brings to mind evidence of a considerable inertia of the masses of people living under Communism. Also to maintain that the Communists have all the initiative calls for qualifications as to what fields the Communists or the West tend to lead. On the whole, the reader gets an impression that Communist propaganda is superior. The Communists have the advantage of centrally directed and co-ordinated propaganda. However, the author fails to point out that this is also to their disadvantage, since it tends to be monotonous. The author ascribes an almost all-powerful influence to propaganda. However, a social scientist knowing the importance of the small group would today evaluate more critically the effect of mass media. The author is obviously not familiar with pertinent American studies produced during and after World War II. There are also outright social science anachronisms such as "the climate creates types of men" (p. 24), and "Buddhism has deep geo-psychological foundations" (p. 48).—JIRI KOLAJA

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